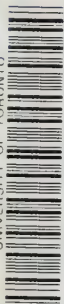


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THE

LIFE AND REIGN

OF

NICHOLAS THE FIRST,

Emperor of Russia;

WITH

DESCRIPTIONS OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY
AND GOVERNMENT,

A Complete History of the War in the East,

AND

SKETCHES OF SCHAMYL THE CIRCASSIAN CHIEF, AND
OTHER DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS.

BY 538125
30.1.52

SAMUEL M. SCHMUCKER, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF THE "COURT AND REIGN OF CATHERINE II. EMPRESS OF RUSSIA," ETC.

PHILADELPHIA:

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PREFACE.

THE position which the late Czar Nicholas I. will occupy in the history of the nineteenth century, is an equivocal one. So far as he is regarded as the great representative of Absolutism and Despotism, in an age of general progress and improvement, when the millions are loudly proclaiming to the privileged few, that the day of their tyranny will soon be forever ended;—as such a representative of the feudal past, Nicholas I. must ever be regarded as a pernicious and bad man, who employed his prodigious power to turn back, as far as he could, the great dial-hand of human progress.

The only aspect in which Nicholas I. presents himself favourably to view, is with reference to the stern and inflexible qualities of his mind;—the immovable decision, the daring resolution, the self-supporting and fiercely defiant obstinacy,

with which he ventured to confront the united current of public opinion, which swept almost around the civilized world; and arrayed himself, alone, against the many-toned voices of the race, which proclaimed the approach of the inevitable era of the enfranchisement of the nations.

That the history of the life and reign of such a man would possess not only great interest, but even considerable importance, cannot well be doubted. His position was too prominent, and his qualities were too peculiar, ever to permit his name, his influence, and his memory, to descend to the shades of the common oblivion. A few men there have been, in this nineteenth century, who loom far upward into the political heavens, and tower like mighty Alps above the ordinary level; who astonish, delight, and even terrify, mankind by their superior vastness and greatness, both of natural abilities, and of acquired, or inherited, official station. Napoleon I. was one, and certainly the greatest, of these. Napoleon III. is without question another. And Nicholas I. may well be classed among the most

memorable of the men whose careers have illustrated the present century.

Whether the following work is a production in any degree worthy of the interest and importance of the subject, is a question which the reader alone must determine. No complete history of the life and reign of Nicholas I. has yet appeared in our language. That so great a personage, and so remarkable a man, deserved a laboured and complete record of his life and career, will readily be admitted. The present writer, having carefully used all the materials which could be obtained, having reference to the subject, has only to conclude by hoping, that the success of his labours may have been in some degree commensurate with his intentions.

S. M. S.

PHILADELPHIA, *January*, 1856.

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THE
EMPEROR NICHOLAS I.

INTRODUCTION.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF RUSSIAN HISTORY—THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF RUSSIA—INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO RUSSIA—IVAN THE GREAT—ELECTION OF THE ROMANOFFS TO THE THRONE—MICHAEL ROMANOFF—ORIGIN OF THE WORD CZAR—PETER THE GREAT—CATHERINE II.—HEREDITARY AMBITION OF THE ROMANOFFS—CATALOGUE OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF THAT HOUSE.

IN the remote and shadowy ages of antiquity, the people who inhabited that vast country now known as Russia were composed of three distinct races. These were the Scythians, in the south; the Slavonians, in the centre; and the Fins, in the north. The first monarch who reigned over these several nations as a united and organized community was Rurik, who dates from the year A. D. 862. He was succeeded by Oleg, in the year 879. Fifty successive sovereigns of the Rurik dynasty governed the country, until the year 1584, when several

princes succeeded, who obtained possession of the prerogatives of the extinct race.

During the reign of Vladimir, a distinguished hero and warrior of those times, in A. D. 984, Christianity was introduced into his dominions. Disgusted with the heathenism which he and his subjects had long professed, he looked around him to discover some better and nobler system of belief. His mind was for some time greatly exercised as to whether he should choose Mohammedanism, Judaism, Catholicism, or the Greek form of Christianity. As to Mohammedanism, he was indeed attracted by the glowing descriptions which he received of the luxurious paradise reserved for the faithful, and had no objection whatever to its lovely houris and its voluptuous joys. But he loved wine even better than he loved women; and could not, on any account, consent to abandon his favourite indulgence. As to Judaism, he turned away in disgust from the rite of circumcision; and, moreover, despised a race who were perennial wanderers over the earth, without any fixed homes or country. He rejected Catholicism, because the Pope was represented to him as being an arrogant wretch, who impiously assumed the prerogatives of an earthly deity; and this was repugnant to his own supremacy and consequence. Vladimir finally

settled down in the choice of the Greek religion: chiefly because his revered ancestress, Olga, had been a Greek woman; and because that faith was happily exempt from the important objections which so severely operated against its rivals. In A. D. 1015, Vladimir died, after a reign of thirty-five years, with the honourable epithet of "the Great" attached to his name. On his adoption of the Greek religion, he ordered all his subjects to imitate his example; and thus, by one grand edict of despotic power, Russia became enrolled among the catalogue of Christian nations.

Already, in the eleventh century, Russia possessed an acknowledged dynasty, a European religion, and a fixed code of laws; though the latter exhibited more than an ordinary share of the barbarity which characterized the jurisprudence of European countries during the Middle Ages.

In the year 1462, Ivan the Great ascended the throne. He may fitly be regarded as the antitype of the Czar Nicholas; for the period of his reign, which continued forty-three years, is marked as the one in which despotism obtained that ascendancy in Russia which it has ever since maintained, in the person of the sovereign. He devoted his whole life to the establishment of absolute power, and de-

vised and perfected the system of serfdom which has ever since existed in the dominions of the czar.* He gradually wrested from the great communities of Novogorod, Viatka, and also of Lithuania, their ancient privileges; and Moscow, the capital of his empire, became the centre of still greater opulence, power, and prosperity.

The darkest period of Russian history is that of the reign of Ivan IV. "the Terrible." He sat upon the throne for twenty-nine years, from 1534 to 1563. During this period, the Russians were the most debased community in Europe: their ignorance and wretchedness were extreme; the rights of the strongest everywhere prevailed; fathers sold their children into slavery; continual wars devastated the country; the princes tyrannized with fear-

* The Russian word *czar* or *tsar* is usually supposed to be derived from the Latin *Cæsar*. Such, however, is not the fact; inasmuch as in the old Slavonic translation of the New Testament, the name of *Cæsar* is written *Kessar* or *Keçar*, (Matt. xxii. 21;) and the title *czar* is applied, in it, to kings in general. The title itself was first assumed, in 1547, by Ivan IV., and the word is used in the formulary of his coronation. The word appears to have been of Tartar origin, and to have been originally applied to the Great Khans of Tartary. As long as the Grand Prince of Moscow remained tributary to the Great Khan, the title of *czar* was used by the former to the latter; but when that relation terminated, the Prince of Moscow, with his independence, assumed also the title of his late superior, to indicate their equality. Being thus transplanted to Russia, the title has ever since been retained by her successive sovereigns. *Vide Karamsin, Histoire de l'Empire de Russie*, VI., ch. vii.

ful cruelty over the helpless serfs; persons might sell themselves into slavery; the penal code was marked by barbarities unheard of in any other country in Christendom; and the excessive ferocity and ungovernable passions of the sovereign carried ruin and dismay everywhere throughout his dominions.

Years of gloom and suffering rolled away, and at length, in 1613, the first prince of the illustrious race of the Romanoffs ascended the throne. He assumed the name of Michael IV. In the middle of Lent in that year, an election was held at Moscow for a successor to fill the place of Vladislaus I., who had recently expired, without heir or issue. The princes Mstislavski and Pojarsky wisely refused the dangerous elevation offered them. Many other candidates, who were willing to endure, for the good of the state, the cares and dangers of empire, were successively set aside. At length the name of Michael Romanoff was proposed. He was then a youth of sixteen years of age, of fair character, but quite unknown. His ancestors had filled, at different times, the highest offices of the state. He had not been implicated in the desperate struggles which had previously convulsed the nation.

These were the principal causes which rendered him more acceptable to the assembled boyars than

any of his competitors. He was, moreover, ably supported by the influence of the metropolitan of Moscow, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the kingdom.

On accepting the proffered crown, Michael Romanoff made solemn oath that he would carefully protect the Greek religion; that he would pardon all the injuries that had been inflicted on his father; that he would decree no new laws except a stern necessity absolutely required it; that he would neither make war nor conclude peace without the concurrence of the boyars; and that he would merge his private fortune into the domains of the crown. Thus, we may observe that the most despotic dynasty of Europe was an elected one; deriving its powers and prerogatives solely from the will of the nation; and holding them originally by the most feeble tenure, and circumscribed by the most republican restrictions.

Sixteen sovereigns of the great house of Romanoff have successively reigned in Russia since their first elevation to the throne. Under their guidance, their dominions have advanced in some respects, and have retrograded in others. The highest ornament of the Romanoff dynasty was Peter the Great; and to his commanding genius and sagacious views Russia owes the eminence

which she now possesses among civilized nations, for her colossal proportions, for her physical grandeur, and for her material splendours. Of intellectual advancement, or of supremacy in the arts, sciences, and all the nobler pursuits of humanity, she cannot boast. To Peter the Great she owes her second and greater capital in the north, the acquisition of the Baltic provinces, and the possession of other important conquests in the south and west.

Elizabeth Petrovna was the daughter of Peter the Great and the first Catherine. She left the throne, at her death, to the youthful Peter II., son of the unfortunate Czarovitch Alexius, who had been beheaded by the cruel order of his father. Peter II. reigned three years, and in 1730 was succeeded by the Empress Anne, daughter of the Czar Ivan, the elder brother of the first Peter.

To Anne, in 1740, succeeded his nephew, Ivan III., who was deposed by a conspiracy, headed by a German surgeon named Lestock, thirteen months afterward, in order to elevate the famous Elizabeth to the throne. This princess possessed considerable resemblance to her mother, the beautiful Catherine I. But if she equalled her in those attractive qualities which render the society of women agreeable, she surpassed her in the immoderate

love of vicious pleasure. Instead of having the art of commanding, like her mother, Elizabeth permitted herself to be controlled by others; and this weakness was the primary cause of all the misfortunes of Peter III. In order that she might retain her independence, Elizabeth declined all offers of matrimony: but she did not the less indulge in licentiousness; and since she was a bigot as well as a sensualist, she was induced by her grand veneur, the Field-Marshal Razumousky, to agree to a private marriage with him. The two Counts Tarakanoff and their sister—the fate of which princess forms so melancholy an episode in the history of Catherine II.—were the fruit of this secret union. Elizabeth, however, did not content herself with one lover; she made frequent changes. But Razumousky permitted no one to approach her except those whom he thought incapable of attempting to share the administration of the government with him.

To her violent propensity to voluptuousness Elizabeth added first the love of good eating, and then the pleasures of wine. Banquets, feasts, balls, masquerades, and the most frivolous amusements, were preferred to business. By degrees she proceeded from moderate enjoyments to the extrava-

gance of sensuality. Her taste for devotion augmented her voluptuousness, and added to the absurdity of her character. She continued during whole hours on her knees, before the picture of her favourite saint; to which she spoke, and which she even consulted. She passed alternately from acts of bigotry to the intemperance of lust, and from scenes of extreme lasciviousness to the soothing opiates of prayer. To describe her unblushing excesses would stain the page of history.

At length, on Christmas day, 1761, after an inglorious reign of twenty-one years, Elizabeth expired, in the fifty-second year of her age. The indolence of her character subjected her to the selfish and wicked designs of her *favourites*, who made a bad use of her authority. Her devotion rendered her impious, and her clemency cruel. At the commencement of her reign, she made a vow never to punish a malefactor with death: the judges, therefore, who could not decapitate criminals, deprived them of life by the barbarous punishment of the knout; and never were more tongues cut out, or miserable wretches sent to Siberia, than under the *clement* reign of the Empress Elizabeth. In dungeons not far from her own palace were languishing in misery a dethroned emperor, several

princes and dukes, besides many courtiers, statesmen, generals, officers, and even women.

It is computed that her conduct cost the empire every year at least a thousand lives, either by imprisonment or by banishment. Nothing was more easy than to obtain a *secret order* for these cruel purposes, by the base flatterers that always surrounded her person. It was sufficient for one of her maids of honour to think herself slighted, to obtain an order to have the offender taken out of bed at night, carried away gagged and blindfolded, and immured underground, to drag out the remainder of a miserable life in a loathsome dungeon, without ever being charged with any crime. Many of these unfortunate persons were known to be still existing under the bastions and towers of different fortresses so late as the year 1780, besides the many hundreds that were sent to perish in the frozen regions of Siberia.

To Elizabeth succeeded Peter III., the unfortunate husband of the gifted though shameless Semiramis of the north, Catherine II. Nicholas I., one of her successors, and the subject of the present history, vainly imagined that in his own august person the world was at length destined to behold the fated conqueror of Constantinople, who-

would wear on his anointed head the double diadem of the fallen Moslem sovereign, united with that of the ancient czars of Muscovy.*

* The following catalogue contains a list of the successive emperors of the Romanoff dynasty, from the period of their accession to the throne until the present time:—

Michael, or Mikhaïl Focdorovitch	1613
Alexis Mikhaïlovitch	1645
Foëdor III. (or II.) Alexéïovitch.....	1676
Joann V. Alexéïovitch (conjointly with his brother)....	1682
Peter I. Alexéïovitch the Great	1696
Catherine I. Alexéïovana.....	1725
Peter II. Alexéïovitch.....	1727
Anna Joannovna	1730
Joann VI. Antonovitch.....	1740
Elizabeth Petrovna	1741
Peter III. Foëlorovitch.....	1761
Catherine II. Alexéïovna the Great.....	1762
Paul Petrovitch.....	1796
Alexander Paulovitch	1801
Nicholas Paulovitch	1825
Alexander II.	1855

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND YOUTH OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS—HIS EARLY EDUCATION—HIS PECULIAR DISPOSITION—NICHOLAS VISITS THE COURTS AND CAPITALS OF EUROPE—HIS MILITARY STUDIES—HE EXPECTS TO SUCCEED HIS BROTHER ALEXANDER I. ON THE THRONE—HE PURSUES THE NECESSARY STUDIES.

NICHOLAS PAULOVITCH, the late Czar of all the Russias, was born at the palace of Gatshina, near St. Petersburg, on the 25th of June, 1796. He was the ninth of the ten children who were the fruit of the marriage of Paul I. with his second wife, Maria Feodrovna, Princess of Wurtemberg. There were no particular demonstrations of national joy on the event of his birth, because, in consequence of the arrangement contemplated by the Empress Catherine, who still survived, the empire of Russia had already been designated for his elder brother Alexander, while she appropriated the expected throne of the Turkish empire to Constantine. A career of no great distinction or splendour was therefore anticipated for Nicholas.

When he was but four months old, his grandmother Catherine II. expired; and Paul I., her son,

in opposition to her wishes, ascended the vacant throne. The empress herself superintended the early education of Nicholas; but at the age of ten, he was placed under the care of Lambsdorff, Storch, Adeling, and Marevieff, distinguished savans of that period, who directed his studies in all the various departments of useful and elegant learning. Dupuget of Lausanne was appointed to instruct him in the French language and literature.

The youth of Nicholas was passed during a period in which all the energies of the empire, and the attention of the whole nation, were absorbed in the great struggles connected with Napoleon's career; and hence it is that fewer observations were then made, and afterward preserved, in reference to the youthful qualities and actions of the future czar. All authorities, however, concur in stating, that already at that early period, Nicholas exhibited so strong a taste for military studies and exercises, as to exclude all regard or interest in the usual amusements and even gratifications of youth. In the acquisition of modern languages, however, he displayed the possession of a strong and accurate memory. But as for the rest, he seemed to be dry, reserved, and unsocial in his nature, beyond the usual displays of even princely dignity.

At the age of twelve years, the prince commanded

a regiment of boys of his own age; and he enjoyed no amusement so intensely as the exercise of training them. One of his earliest recollections was that of terror; for he was present with his mother, in her apartment, when, amid a clamour and commotion which aroused the whole palace, Count Pahlen rushed into the empress's presence, beseeching her not to be alarmed, and locking the door upon her, exclaimed, that the conspirators were only dispatching her husband, but that she and her sons were secure!

It was not until after Alexander I. had reigned for some years, and had lost all hope of issue, that the probability began to assume clearness and importance that Nicholas might succeed him, through the refusal of his elder brother Constantine to assume the cares and perils of empire. During his youth, therefore, the Grand Duke Nicholas passed his time without particular friends, with but three or four associates of his own age, and chiefly engaged in his military studies and amusements. The persons whom he most esteemed were Counts Benkendorff, Adlerberg, and Orloff; and after he became emperor, he still seemed to have remained attached to them, as is evinced by the important posts with which they were intrusted. He was not beloved by the court, nor by the army, nor by the people. He was

ness cruel than the Grand Duke Michael, his younger brother; yet he did not possess the impulsive generosity of the latter, which induced him, after he had punished the objects of his dislike unjustly, to be equally willing to make ample reparation for the evil done, when the moment of passion had passed by.

Neither in his youth nor in his riper years was Nicholas ever known to relent, to apologize, or to forgive. He was silent, thoughtful, and saturnine in his temperament. Nor did he ever display any proofs of superior talent. He remained during his whole life enveloped in an atmosphere of solemn and severe reserve, of haughty and unbending self-importance. He never melted down to sympathy. He never shed a tear. Even those displays of popular enthusiasm which custom uniformly bestowed on the members of the imperial family wherever they went, he frequently received without condescending to notice them, although the uniform custom of the imperial family was to return the salute.

It may readily be supposed that the youth of such a man, though passed in the midst of a voluptuous court and a profligate capital, might be almost devoid of all displays of romantic attachment or preferences. Such seems in a great measure to have been the case. During the reign of his brother Alexander I., although he was one of the hand-

sonest young men at court,—though his high birth and his lofty expectations would have rendered conquest easy, and insured the success of his aspirations for female favour,—we have but little proof that he indulged in any of those *intrigues d'amour* so prevalent among young courtiers of his age. His constitution appears to have been excessively cold; so much so indeed, that, while he himself remained free from any female attachment or licentious indulgences, he was utterly unable to excite the admiration or win the love, of any of the fair dames who surrounded him. Said one of the most fascinating women of the court, one day: “The Grand Duke Nicholas belongs to the imperial circle; he is very handsome; and yet, when he is absent from the court circle, he is not near as much missed as is his ugly brother Michael!” There are indeed some *on dits* repeated in the court respecting his supposed partiality for certain married ladies of easy virtue at this period of his life; but all of them are so groundless, so unsupported by evidence of any kind, and are so entirely inconsistent with his whole character, that they do not deserve to be narrated in any record of the life of Nicholas which pretends to describe only that which is authentic and reliable.

About the year 1815, when Alexander, having passed the meridian of life, resigned all hopes of

having children, and it became probable that Nicholas might become his successor, the latter, for the first time, entered on his travels throughout Europe, in order to enlarge his knowledge of the world, and perfect his acquaintance with foreign people and governments.

During this journey Nicholas visited the various cities and capitals of France, Germany, Austria, and England. He regarded with special interest all the celebrated battle-fields of the Continent, and studied with the zest of an amateur, those various spots which had been incarnadined by human gore, and were rendered memorable by the fierce struggles and vicissitudes of conflict. He was received at the various courts which he visited with all the consideration due to his exalted rank. His splendid person made him be regarded with partiality by the fascinating dames who graced these several courts, and whose bright eyes beamed on him with unwonted lustre. But their efforts to fascinate the youthful prince of the mighty and frozen North, however desperate and consummate, generally proved in the end to be useless. After several years spent in travel, Nicholas again returned to St. Petersburg, and immediately resumed his usual avocations of military study and practice with his regiment. He still displayed the cold and reserved qualities of his

nature. A writer, speaking of this period of his life, declares that at the frequent review of the Imperial Guards, at which Alexander I. and his brothers, the grand dukes, were present, Alexander and Constantine would frequently enter into conversation with some of the handsome women in the crowd. Nicholas would not even glance at them, but would haughtily ride by his dallying brothers with a sneer which plainly indicated, that he regarded such condescension as a serious disgrace to imperial and grand-ducal dignity. During this period of his life, the chief pursuit of Nicholas was his devotion to those branches of knowledge which would be of most essential service to him in the high office to which his future destiny now seemed to designate him. He made himself familiar with geographical, statistical, and financial sciences; studied carefully the history of governments, both despotic and free, in past and present ages; and thoroughly learned to comprehend the principles and the machinery of that vast empire, over whose heterogenous interests he himself might soon be called to rule. He was fully conscious of the difficulties which attended that position, and industriously prepared himself to master them.

CHAPTER II.

THE MARRIAGE OF NICHOLAS WITH THE PRINCESS MARIA CHARLOTTE OF PRUSSIA—THE ATTACHMENT OF NICHOLAS TO HER—APPEARANCE AND DISPOSITION OF THE PRINCESS—HER SITUATION AT THE COURT OF ST. PETERSBURG—PECULIARITIES OF NICHOLAS WHILE GRAND DUKE—HIS RESIDENCE AT THE ANITSHOFF PALACE.

THE travels of the Grand Duke Nicholas through Europe exercised an important influence on his future life. It was while visiting the court of Berlin that he became acquainted with the accomplished Princess Maria Charlotte, the eldest daughter of the former King of Prussia.

A marriage between the Grand Duke Nicholas and this princess had been projected some time before, by Alexander I. The alliance between Russia and Prussia, which would become cemented by this union, offered great advantages to both countries. But it was not absolutely determined upon until Nicholas, by a personal acquaintance with his proposed spouse, should have expressed his own approval of the match. That approval quickly followed his interviews with her during his visit to Berlin in 1816; and after his return to St. Petersburg the

marriage ceremonies between the youthful prince and princess were celebrated. This event occurred on the 13th July, 1817.

According to the requirements of the Russian law, the princess adopted the Greek religion upon her arrival in St. Petersburg, and with it she assumed the name of Alexandra Feodorovna. This change of her religion and name was always very repugnant to the feelings of Frederick William III., father of the princess, who continued to address her as the Princess Charlotte as long as he lived.

Notwithstanding the coldness of the character of Nicholas, and his general indifference to female charms, this marriage seemed to be the source of more domestic enjoyment between the grand duke and his wife than might have been anticipated. The reason of this was the fact, that the arch-duchess resembled her husband so much in character and temper, that a mutual harmony between them was the happy result. She was remarkable for the same majesty of figure which characterized Nicholas. She possessed the same hauteur and reserve of manner, and the same formality and stateliness of deportment, which he displayed. Even in her youth, her mother, the beautiful but unfortunate Queen Louisa of Prussia, thus wrote of her to her husband, when she

was but ten years old: "Charlotte pleases me every day more and more. Though she is not communicative, but is close and reserved, she conceals, like her father, under a cold exterior, a warm heart. In appearance, she is indifferent; in reality, she is affectionate and obliging. I am sure she is destined to fill a brilliant destiny if she lives."

When the princess arrived in St. Petersburg, the impression produced by her appearance was favourable. By the side of some of the blooming beauties of the Russian court, her complexion appeared to be deficient in freshness, and her form in plumpness, according to the taste then prevalent in the Northern capital. But all united in declaring that her features were handsome, and that her eyes were expressive and fascinating. Her carriage was exceedingly graceful, and her form majestic. She was remarkable even then, and for many years of her subsequent life, for her fondness for dancing, for tight lacing, and for the innocent, though debilitating, luxuries of aristocratic life.

The situation of the wife of Nicholas on her arrival, and during the first years of her residence at St. Petersburg, was not as agreeable as might have been desired. Above her, in a superior position of consequence and authority, were both the

empress and the empress-mother. The family of the Grand Duke Constantine was distracted by domestic disputes between him and his grand duchess. It was a difficult and delicate matter for the wife of Nicholas to determine on which side of this exalted quarrel she should array herself. Her husband, at that time, held a very subordinate position among the functions and prerogatives of the imperial family; for he was never admitted to the council chamber, where great questions of political and diplomatic importance were discussed and determined on. His sphere of operation was limited to mere garrison-service. During the first years of their marriage, Nicholas and his wife held as little intercourse with the court-circle as possible, and lived a somewhat retired life at the Anitshoff Palace, two miles distant from St. Petersburg. The habit thus acquired of being much together, was a prominent cause of the prevalent opinion that great attachment existed between them.

One year after his marriage Nicholas became a father; and his eldest son, Alexander Nicolaiwitch, the present czar, was born. During the few years which were spent in his domestic retirement at the palaces of Anitshoff, Nicholas, obtaining clearer glimpses of the more exalted destiny which proba-

bly awaited him in the future, endeavoured to improve his mind with a greater familiarity with those branches of knowledge which would become of most essential service to him on the throne. In some of these departments he was much deficient; and the occasion of improvement thus offered was opportune. In 1819, the Grand Duchess Maria, his first daughter, was born. She afterwards became the Duchess of Leuchtenburg.

Already, at this early period, the peculiar sternness and severity of the countenance of Nicholas had become marked and confirmed. A writer—speaking of him as grand duke, and before the succession to the throne had been settled—says, that the usual expression of his countenance was severe, even to misanthropy; that he smiled only through courtesy, never from good-nature. All his words were measured, as if set to music. In the tone of his voice, and in his utterance, it was clear that he spoke not from conviction, but through dissimulation; and that he seemed to act on the principle that the concealment of his thoughts and purposes was the highest sagacity and wisdom. To some degree, his august spouse emulated the same qualities and appearances.

During his residence at the Anitshoff Palace, Nicholas devoted himself particularly to the study

of the science of engineering; and he possessed the reputation of having been skilled in its most intricate principles. But it is doubtful whether this reputation was deserved, from the fact that, at the grand reviews which were frequently held in the environs of St. Petersburg, when he commanded a portion of the troops, he was often out-manœuvred and surrounded by the opposing party. So frequently had this occurred, that at length he refused to take a part of the command on these occasions. It is also said that, on one occasion, when he was inspecting some experiments of the ordnance at Cronstadt, and he presumed to give an opinion on the subject, he was so far in error, that an old general of artillery who was with him, boldly replied, "Your Highness knows nothing about it!"

And even after he became emperor, in all matters of intricate detail, which involved technicalities, he uniformly deferred to the wiser judgment of Nesselrode, Cancrin, Volkonsky, and other ministers, as being more competent than himself. His opinions at this period respecting the partial reforms which the Emperor Alexander attempted then to introduce into Russia, were, that it was unwise and unsafe to adopt new systems without a proper basis and consistency. Even at this early

period he is said to have formed the deliberate conviction that it was impossible to remodel Russia and her government, into any harmony with the ideas of progress which have been gradually advancing throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. He thought that the only proper sphere for the activity of the supreme head of that vast empire, which extended over one-seventh of the whole earth, was the improvement of the administrative departments of justice and the police, and the slow and safe enlargement of her territory, by the combined arts of war and of diplomaey.

CHAPTER III.

RESERVED HABITS OF THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS—ANECDOTE OF HIS VISIT TO BERLIN—THE PARISIAN DANDY AND NICHOLAS AT ST. PETERSBURG—PURSUITS OF NICHOLAS AT THIS PERIOD—HIS ASSOCIATES AND ATTENDANTS.

DURING the residence of Nicholas at the Anitshoff Palace, which comprised the period which intervened between his marriage and his accession, his usual habits of life were as follows. He rose at an early hour, and first took a short walk. On his return, he immediately began the business of the day. In his study he exhibited the greatest order; the furniture was elegant, without the least trace of useless ornament; and the walls were adorned only with pictures of regimental costumes. Nor need we wonder at this, when we remember that, through the influence of a perverted education, he himself so highly esteemed the importance of the military appearance and elegance of style, as to habituate himself to such tight lacing as often to cause him to faint when ungirthing to retire to sleep.

Nicholas was fond of good living, but drank

moderately. During the course of the day he gave his entire attention to all the matters of business which were brought before him. His only amusements were a game of cards occasionally between tea and bedtime, with the members of his family.

Several years after his marriage, his wife, the late empress, visited her father at Berlin. Nicholas was detained, after her departure, for two days. Being then at leisure, he travelled post, *incognito*, and arrived at the palace in Berlin an hour before his wife, and thus afforded her an agreeable surprise. The Marquis de Custin affirms that Nicholas forgot his majesty, only in the bosom of his family, where he was reminded that man has his happiness independent of state duties. That stern nature could sometimes descend to the display of the common sympathies of humanity. His treatment of his sons was exceedingly cold and serious; that of his daughters, chivalrous and polite. If he loved any one at all, it was his wife. Two anecdotes remain as solitary proofs of this attachment, which must be carefully preserved. The first is, that at the time of his visit with her to Naples, in 1847, her health being very feeble, he used to carry her up-stairs from her carriage to her chamber, in his arms. The second is, that

when, in 1836, the Winter Palace was burnt, being informed that the fire was approaching his private cabinet, and when asked what he wished to be saved in it, he answered: "Only my portfolio; nothing else." It contained the letters of the empress, which she wrote to him during their engagement.

Whenever an opportunity occurred for him to favour the grand duchess with a new diversion or surprise, he seemed to have been disposed to embrace it. Thus, on one occasion, in riding along the streets of the capital, he saw a young nobleman, named Yakovloff, promenading, and dressed in the utmost extreme of Parisian foppery. On his head was a small peaked hat, resembling a flower-pot reversed; a handkerchief was tied around his neck, of flaming colour, and with a gigantic bow; a cloak no larger than a cape was thrown over his shoulders; his chin was decorated with a beard trimmed *à la Henri Quatre*; he carried an immense knotted club in his hand; a glass was stuck in one corner of his eye, to which was attached a very broad black ribbon; and a fierce-looking bull-dog followed at his heels.

As Nicholas rode by, he stopped, and addressing the dandy, said, "In God's name, who are you?" He answered, "Please your Highness, my name is Save Savietch Yakovloff." "Indeed!

Save Savietch, I'm delighted to make your acquaintance; just step up and take a seat here beside me." The dandy dropped his club, and began to enter the carriage. "Oh no!" said Nicholas; "Save Savietch, pick up your club." He complied, and they rode directly to the imperial palace. Save Savietch, on entering, began to divest himself of his hat and cloak. "Don't do that," said Nicholas; "come on just as you are. Pray, my dear," said he to the grand duchess, "do you know this animal?" "No," replied she, bursting into a fit of laughter. "Then allow me to inform you that this is Save Savietch Yakovloff. What do you think of him? Is he not a pretty fellow?" The beau, half dead with shame and terror, begged permission to retire, and no more appeared in his *outré* costume on the Neffsky-Prospect—the Broadway of St. Petersburg.

Already at this period of his life, the Grand Duke Nicholas exhibited remarkable qualities both of mind and person. His figure is represented as having been most majestic in form and perfect in proportion. His countenance, though his features were regular and handsome, was marked by an expression of great severity, and even of misanthropy. His smile was only that of courtesy, never that of pleasure or emotion; every word and ges-

ture was formal, stiff, and measured. Yet he spoke with animation and simplicity. The observer felt that the prince's heart was hermetically sealed against every approach of feeling, and that his thoughts were concealed by an impenetrable veil of mystery.

Nicholas at this period read considerably, and he possessed the power of concentrating his faculties in an extraordinary degree. As his son Alexander grew in years, he devoted considerable attention to his education; though his training was scientific to so great a degree that he was allowed little leisure for the belles-lettres. A writer of eminence, speaking of Nicholas at this period, says: "If the grand duke ascends the throne, he will be served with zeal; for though he will not, like Henri Quatre, win the hearts of his servants and subjects, yet they will take pride in serving a prince, who, to the impress of majesty bestowed on him by nature, adds that of superior intelligence and sagacity."

At this period the grand duchess, his wife, possessed a majestic air and figure, with pleasing and regular features. Her eye was piercing and haughty; but when she became animated, that disagreeable expression passed away, and she seemed again the daughter of the adored Louisa, Queen of Prussia; and the artificial repulsiveness of the

princess, was lost in the attractive sweetness of the woman.

The suite of Nicholas at this period included in its number the Count de Modena, and the Princess Volkonski, the latter of whom had been connected with the court for the extraordinary period of fifty years. The grand duchess was also attended by the Princess Catherine Soltikoff, the wife of Prince Sergius Soltikoff, a member of the Imperial Council.

CHAPTER IV.

DISASTERS OF THE LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF ALEXANDER I.—INUNDATION OF THE NEVA AT ST. PETERSBURG—INTRIGUE OF ALEXANDER I. WITH MADAME SOPHIA K.—HER UNFAITHFULNESS TO HIM—THE DEATH OF HIS ILLEGITIMATE DAUGHTER—HIS HEALTH IS AFFECTED—HE DETERMINES TO VISIT THE CRIMEA—SECRET CONSPIRACIES THROUGHOUT RUSSIA AGAINST ALEXANDER—HIS DEATH AT TAGANROG.

THE last year of the life of Alexander I. was one of gloom and misfortune to that monarch; and the darkness grew thicker around him, until death released him from a life which had now lost every charm and attraction.

Early in the year 1824, St. Petersburg was visited by a terrible inundation of the Neva. The mouth of this river, opening westward into the Gulf of Finland, is exposed to the violent storms which accompany the autumnal equinox. On the 19th of November, a furious hurricane, blowing from the west and southwest, forced the waters of the Neva and of the Gulf to such a prodigious height, that nearly the whole city of St. Petersburg was submerged beneath the waves. The ruin and deso-

lation which ensued can scarcely be conceived. From hour to hour the loud booming of the cannon of the Admiralty announced to the terrified inhabitants, the continual rising of the flood. Bridges were torn up; wooden houses were drifted away, some still filled with their inhabitants; and vessels sunk under the weight of the despairing multitudes which overcrowded them. The loss of life and property was immense. Thousands of persons who escaped immediate death were deprived of their property, and ruined. These disasters produced a melancholy effect on the mind of Alexander. He displayed his sympathy with the unfortunate, by subscribing a million of rubles toward the alleviation of the sufferings of those who had been the victims of the calamity.

But distress of a more personal and painful character befell the emperor, in this last year of his life. Between himself and his wife, the Empress Elizabeth, there had, for some years, existed a degree of coldness which had banished all domestic joys from the imperial circle. He had been married to her in 1779, at sixteen years of age; and though the empress possessed beauty of person and amiability of temper, the inconstant mind of Alexander had long been seduced from its allegiance by other less virtuous and more mercenary charms.

One of his various amours lasted for nine years. This was with Madame Sophia K., a person of great beauty, intelligence, and attractiveness of manner. By her Alexander had three children. Two of these died in their youth; and the third, a child of unusual amiability and sweetness, had, at this period, arrived at the age of seventeen, and had become the highest joy and delight of her father's existence.

In the year 1824, Alexander was destined to experience the faithlessness of his beautiful mistress, and to behold the death of his cherished offspring. The latter had formed a connection with a young nobleman of excellent character, and their marriage was soon to be celebrated, with the approbation of the emperor. But on the very day on which the magnificent *trousseau* intended for the bride arrived from Paris, she expired in the arms of her afflicted father. Gazing upon her inanimate corpse, he is said to have exclaimed, with agony, "I now receive the reward of my deeds!"

During this long series of erratic indulgences on the part of the Emperor Alexander, his wife had remained shut up in comparative obscurity and gloomy solitude at the palace of Czarsko-Selo, literally, *the heaven of the czar*, situated near St. Petersburg. Early in the year 1825, her health was seri-

ously affected by her silent sorrows; and, by the advice of her physicians, it was thought necessary to try the effect of a warmer climate, as that of St. Petersburg was particularly severe.

Alexander acquiesced in this purpose, and a residence at Taganrog, in the Crimea—the southern portion of the Russian dominions—was resolved upon. He preceded the empress, and arrived at Taganrog ten days before her. He employed this interval in making every possible preparation for the comfort of the invalid. Good feeling seemed to have been restored between the imperial pair by their mutual sufferings. The emperor was accompanied by Prince Volkonski, one of the friends of his youth, by General Diebitsch, his aide-de-camp, and by Sir James Wylie, who was head of the medical department of the Russian army.

The czar diverted his leisure by making excursions in different portions of his dominions. The health of the empress had much improved by the change of scene, and still more, from the renewed attachment to her displayed by her husband. But suddenly the health of the latter began to be affected. He suffered from a mysterious disease in his bowels. He refused for a long time to take any medical remedies; and his malady finally resulted in death, on the 1st of December, 1825. His

death was attributed to poison; and that there was some show of probability in this supposition, will appear from the following circumstances.

In the year 1820, Alexander I. had expressed liberal sentiments on behalf of Poland, which were in perfect harmony with the great benevolence of his character. In 1823, it was discovered that secret societies had been formed, in various countries of Europe, to advance the cause of liberty. Many of these had been established even in Russia; and their object was to effect a revolution, which would result in the establishment of a constitutional and limited monarchy. In 1823, the principal members of these societies in Russia had been arrested and punished; but, of course, the germs of revolt were not, and could not be, extirminated. They slowly grew in secret power. By the year 1825, the conspiracy had extended its ramifications throughout all Russia, and even many servants of the government were secretly attached to it. On the 22d of November, the Count de Witt, one of his most confidential friends, brought the emperor information, which convinced him—of what he had long been suspicious—that the murder of the sovereign was a portion of the plan of the conspirators. From that moment he was overwhelmed with terror. He had been informed that

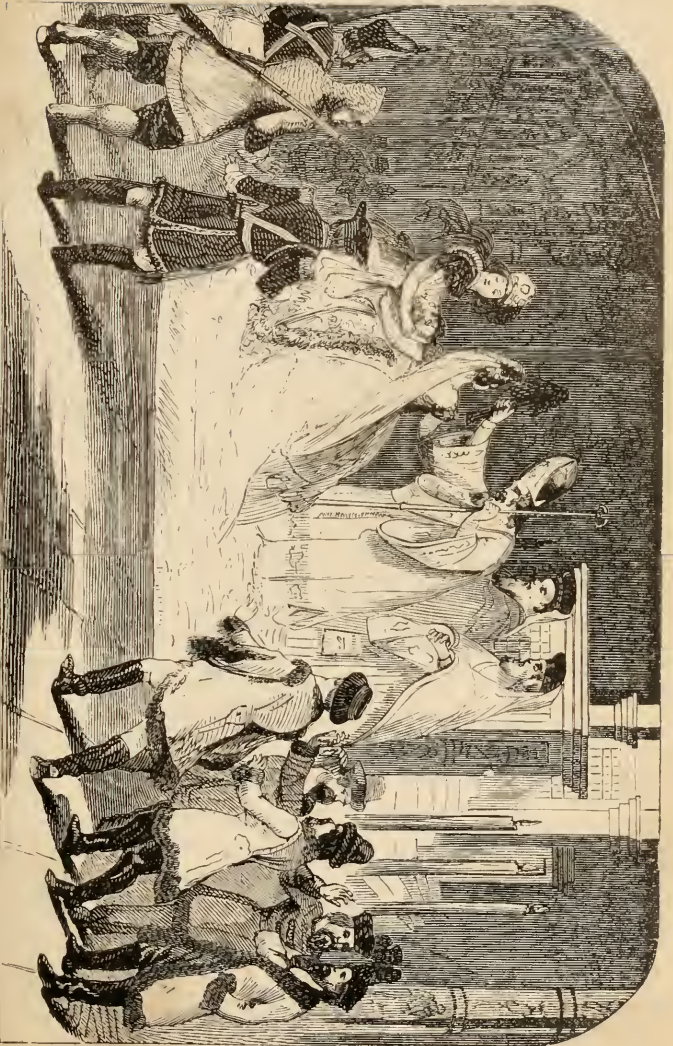
Colonel Pestel, a brother-in-law of Arnoldi, a major-general of artillery at Taganrog, was the conspirator to whom had been intrusted the task of dispatching him by poison. Several weeks previous to this revelation, Alexander had begun to suffer from the mysterious fever which then afflicted him. What the czar's own opinion was, in reference to his disease, is apparent from the exclamations which he uttered: "The monsters! the ungrateful monsters! I desired nothing but their happiness." Medical assistance, when accepted, came too late. Alexander I. expired at Taganrog, the victim of the revolutionary conspiracy which, having its origin in 1820, in the Diet of Warsaw, had gradually extended over a large portion of Poland and Russia. Alexander had met the fate of Ivan Antonovitch, of Peter III., and of Paul I. It was proved, upon the trials which followed Alexander's death, that had the poisoned cup failed in its task, the assassin's dagger would have then achieved the same desperate result.

CHAPTER V.

MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—SOLEMN SCENE AT ST. PETERSBURG—EFFECT OF THE NEWS OF ALEXANDER'S DEATH—THE MYSTERIOUS PACKET—NICHOLAS DECLINES THE THRONE—THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE REFUSES THE SUCCESSION—THE LETTER OF CONSTANTINE ON THE SUCCESSION IN FAVOUR OF THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS.

ALEXANDER I. left three brothers: the Grand Duke Constantine, born in 1779; the Grand Duke Nicholas, born in 1796; and the Grand Duke Michael, born in 1798. According to the established law of succession in Russia, Constantine was, beyond all question, the legitimate heir to the throne. Hence, during the lifetime of Alexander, he was always designated by the title of Czarovitch.

On the 9th of December, 1825, a solemn and impressive scene was enacted in St. Petersburg. The Empress Elizabeth had written a letter from Taganrog to the Archduke Nicholas, informing him of the favourable change which had taken place, on the 29th of November, in Alexander's health. The news was communicated by bulletins to the populace, and an immense multitude assembled



The Death of Alexander I. announced to the Empress.



in the great church of St. Peter and St. Paul, to unite in the service of thanks which was about to be offered, for the improved condition of their adored monarch. The court was present, and the whole scene was one of extraordinary magnificence. The vast edifice was crowded with the rejoicing multitude; seraphic music echoed sublimely through the lofty arches and domes of the temple; while the services at the altar were conducted by the Archimandrit himself, with great pomp and splendour.

At this moment a special messenger arrived at the gates of the church, bearing sealed despatches for the Archduke Nicholas, which he had conveyed four hundred and seventy-five leagues in eight days. Nicholas received and opened the letter. It was written by Prince Volkonsky; and it informed him of the death of the czar. Nicholas immediately subdued his feelings; and advancing toward the Archimandrit at the high altar, with an air of deep affliction, desired him to stop the chanting. He then informed him of the sad intelligence of Alexander's death, and requested him to communicate it to the mother of the deceased, then present with the court. The priest obeyed. The multitude gazed with surprise and apprehension at this sudden interruption of their joyful services. The Archimandrit, ascending the high altar, took

a crucifix in his hand, covered it with black crape, and then solemnly and submissively approached the empress. Said he to her, amid the deep silence, "Man must submit to the decrees of Providence." The empress-mother immediately understood him, and fell senseless into the arms of her attending ladies. The assemblage was dismissed amid profound and universal sorrow.

As soon as the empress-mother had recovered her senses, a long and secret interview took place between her and Nicholas. The next day the Senate were assembled; and Nicholas, proceeding to their hall, was about to take the oath of fidelity to his elder brother, Constantine, as the legitimate heir to the throne by right of primogeniture, and to issue a command to the whole empire to follow his example. But here, an important difficulty presented itself. Alexander had left a packet with the Senate, on his last departure from St. Petersburg, with orders that in case he died during his absence, it should be immediately opened on their receiving the intelligence of his dissolution. They now proceeded to perform that duty. The president of the Senate, Prince Lapoukin, broke open the seal. The packet contained a manifesto, signed by Alexander himself, dated 16th August, 1823; together with two other documents, dated eighteen

months earlier. One of these papers was a letter from the Grand Duke Constantine to Alexander I., written at St. Petersburg on the 14th of January, 1822, containing a resignation of his rights as heir to the throne, and a request that Alexander would appoint Nicholas as his successor. He also intimated that he had previously announced his determination not to reign, on the occasion of his divorce from his first wife.

The second paper was the answer of Alexander to this letter, dated the 2d of February, 1822, containing the acceptance of his resignation.

The third document was a manifesto of Alexander himself. It contained the acknowledgment of Nicholas as his successor to the throne, as being the next legitimate inheritor, after the resignation of the heir presumptive, Constantine. He concluded by saying that the welfare of his subjects had ever been his only care, and he asked their prayers for his eternal salvation.

Nicholas is charged with duplicity, since, under these circumstances, he proclaimed his brother Constantine the Czar of all the Russias; for it cannot be supposed that he remained for three years ignorant of the exalted and responsible destiny which had awaited him. The Senate were about to offer him their homage as emperor; but Nicholas would

not allow them to proceed. "I am not emperor," said he, "and wish not to become so, to the detriment of my elder brother. If, maintaining his resignation, he persists in making this sacrifice of his rights, then, and then only, will I accept the throne."

The Senate, however, was not yet convinced. They knew that an interregnum would be perilous in the extreme; that probably a revolt would take place; and they again replied to the grand duke, "You are our emperor; we owe you absolute obedience; if you order us to recognise the Grand Duke Constantine as our sovereign, it is then our duty to obey you." The Council of the empire concurred with the Senate; and by both of them Constantine was then proclaimed the successor of Alexander I. The Holy Synod offered no opposition; and thus the influence of the church was added to the succession thus announced. During the 10th, all the regiments of the guards took the oath of allegiance to Constantine, in the great square before the Winter Palace.

It is proper that we should here state the reasons why Constantine had renounced his rights to the throne, in the first instance, at the time of his divorce.

At an early period of life he had married Ju-

lienne, Princess of Saxe-Coburg. This match had been brought about by the influence of his grandmother, Catherine II. No children had ever blessed their union, which had been an unhappy one from the beginning. At the expiration of four years, a separation took place between them by mutual consent, and the grand duchess returned to her native country. Constantine subsequently became very promiscuous in his amours; but about twenty years after his separation from his wife, he became attached to a Polish lady of great beauty and attractive temper. So powerful was the fascination which she exercised over his usually stern and rocky nature, that he desired to marry her. Jane Grudziuska was every way worthy of this romantic love, possessing every charm and grace of female character and person. But, to marry her, the grand duke must be divorced; and to be divorced, he must resign his claims to the throne, in consequence of the rigid laws of the Greek Church respecting divorce; and because it would have been impossible for his intended wife, who was, and remained, a devout Catholic, to have ever occupied the throne with him, since the fundamental laws of the Russian Empire required the imperial consort to profess and observe the Greek religion.

There was, indeed, much in Constantine's cha-

acter to induce the nation to tremble at the thought of his succeeding to the throne. He was eccentric, impetuous, cruel, and passionate, in an extraordinary degree. His manners were exceedingly coarse, and even ferocious. He resembled his father Paul much more, than did any other of his children, both in the crazy eccentricities of his conduct, and in the repulsive ugliness of his person. In his youth, he had been licentious and turbulent; in his riper years, he had been cruel and savage. One of the most remarkable things recorded in history is, that such a nature could have been tamed and subdued by any being, and especially by one so amiable and gentle, as his second wife is represented to have been. For the amazing love which he bore to her—a love which did not wane in its intensity while life endured, but remained strangely constant until his death in 1830,—for this he sacrificed the brilliant throne of Russia; and thus added to the singularity of an attachment which, in the case of such a man, has scarcely a parallel in the annals either of romance or of verity.

But while the accession of Constantine was regarded by the nation with terror, that of Nicholas was looked upon with indifference. The people feared and dreaded the one; they were in ignorance of the character of the other. He was known

to be a severe disciplinarian in the army, and that he was fond of visiting the barracks and guard-houses to enforce that discipline.

The reasons assigned by Nicholas for refusing to accept the crown, when it was first offered to him, seem to have been reasonable. "We had not," he declared, in his subsequent manifesto, "the right to consider as irrevocable a renunciation which, though made, had never been proclaimed, and had not therefore passed into a law. We wished to show our respect for the fundamental regulations of our country respecting the order of succession to the throne, and to save our beloved country from a moment's uncertainty as to the person of her legitimate sovereign. This resolution received the approbation of our beloved mother, the Empress Maria."

The Grand Duke Constantine having been regularly proclaimed emperor by all the constituted powers of the state, he was, in fact, the czar during an apparent interregnum of three weeks. It is a question of interest to consider, what would have been the course taken by Nicholas, had Constantine, at this juncture, chosen to revoke his resignation and reclaim the throne thus left without an owner. But little doubt, however, attends this inquiry, inasmuch as the conduct of Nicholas during this interval of uncertainty and suspense

was dictated by honour and honesty of purpose. He refused to be proclaimed, and held that his brother might still reconsider his resignation. He desired to give him the amplest time so to do; he refused to expedite proceedings in any way; and it is very clear that, had Constantine relented, and changed his purpose of abdication, Nicholas would have at once acquiesced with a good grace, and retired, without a regret, into his more private position.

This, however, was destined not to be. On the 8th of December, 1825, the Grand Duke Constantine addressed a letter from Warsaw to the empress-mother, in which, after deploring, in suitable terms of condolence, their common loss and affliction, he proceeded to speak of the succession. He referred to the fact that he had formerly resigned his rights as heir-apparent at the period of his second marriage; and he concluded by saying: "Having thus expressed my sentiments, which are unchangeable, I cast myself at the feet of your imperial majesty, praying you to honour with your acceptance my present letter." He also, at the same time, communicated to his brother Nicholas his fixed intention not to accept the throne; and, tendering to him his oath of fidelity and subjection, as his first and greatest subject, he said: "Your imperial ma-

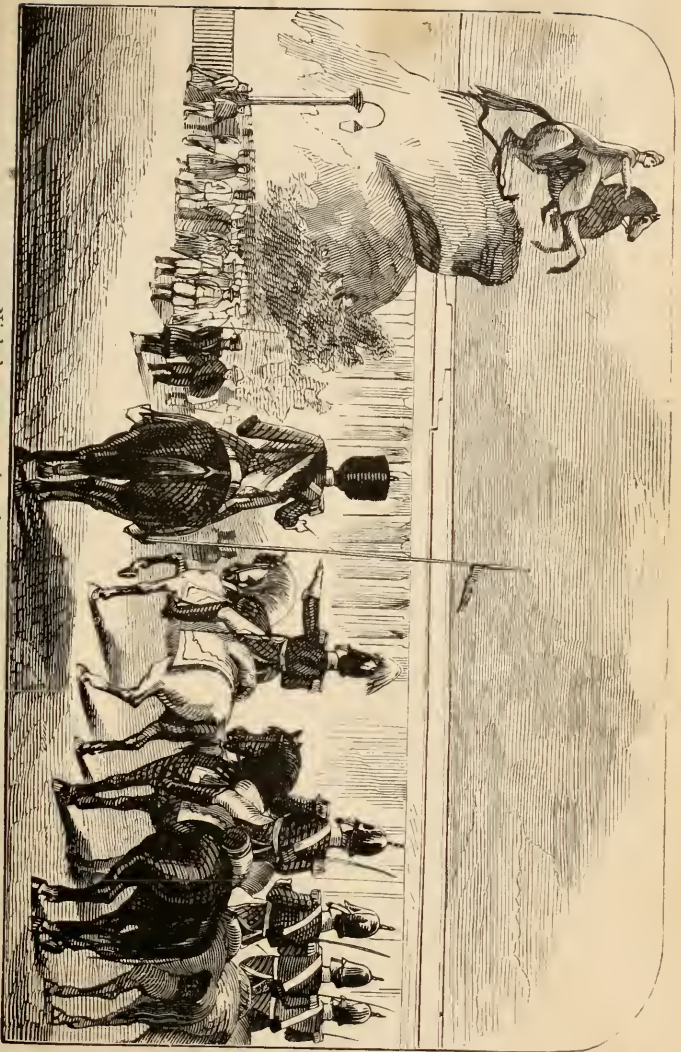
esty will make me happy by deigning to accept the sentiments of my veneration and of my unbounded devotion, the pledge for which may be found in the thirty years' faithful service which I have rendered to their imperial majesties deceased, of revered memory, our father and brother. The same sentiments which have animated me toward them will not cease to fill my mind also toward your imperial majesty and your heirs, and will remain with me till the close of my days." Several letters also addressed to him at Warsaw, entitled, "To his Majesty the Emperor," he refused to open, on the ground that they were not intended for him, and returned them to the Senate and Council, whence they came, with their seals unbroken. Thus, he expressed as plainly as he possibly could, his determination to persist in his resignation, and to acknowledge the Grand Duke Nicholas as the sole and legitimate successor of Alexander I. on the throne of all the Russias.

CHAPTER VI.

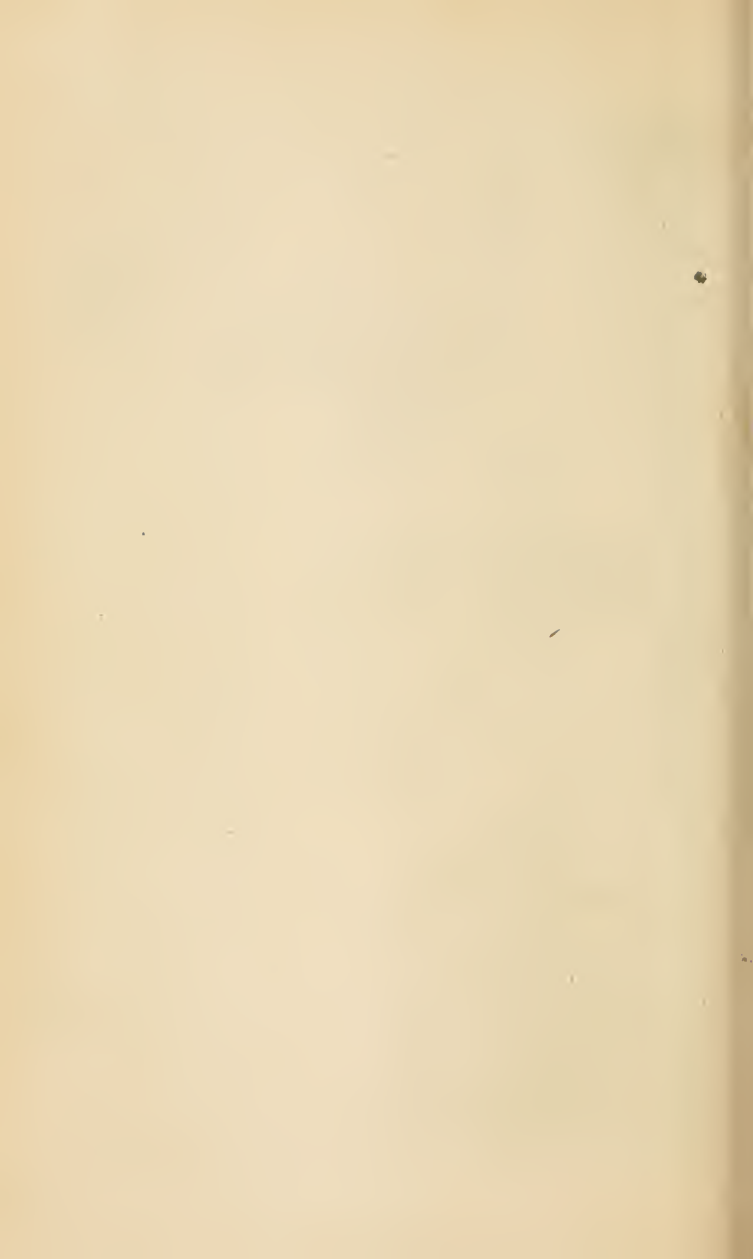
ACCESSION OF THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS I.—HIS MANIFESTO—APPREHENSIONS AT ST. PETERSBURG—THE CONSPIRACY OF THE NOBLES AGAINST NICHOLAS—THE ARMY IS SEDUCED BY THEM INTO REVOLT—MEMORABLE SCENE IN ST. ISAAC'S SQUARE—NARROW ESCAPE OF NICHOLAS FROM DEATH—HIS HEROIC CONDUCT—COUNT ALEXIS ORLOFF—NICHOLAS SUPPRESSES THE INSURRECTION.

THUS pressed and invited to assume the uneasy and perilous burden of sovereignty, Nicholas determined no longer to evade that duty; and on the 24th of December, 1825, consented to accept the proffered sceptre. On the evening of the 25th, the Council of State was convoked, to assume the oath of allegiance to the new emperor. During the same evening, a similar ceremony was performed both by the Senate and the Holy Synod.

To these several bodies Nicholas made the following declaration:—"According to the fundamental law of the empire, our heart being filled with respect for the impenetrable decrees of an overruling Providence, we ascend the throne of our ancestors, the empire of all the Russias, of the kingdom of Poland, and of the grand-duchy of Finland; and



Nicholas suppressing the Revolt at St. Petersburg.



we command that the oath of fidelity be taken to us and to our heir, the Grand Duke Alexander; and that the epoch of our accession be dated from December 1, 1825. And we invite all our faithful subjects to unite with us in fervent prayer to Almighty God, that he may give us strength to support the burden thus imposed on us; that he may enable us to live and reign for the good of our subjects; and that the sacred memory of our deceased sovereign may nourish in us a desire to merit the blessings of heaven and the love of our country."

The critical moment had now arrived in which it was necessary for that vast conspiracy against autocracy in Russia, which had been in secret existence for some years, to strike the decisive blow. The death of Alexander was but the initiatory step in the great and perilous drama which was about to be enacted. It was proper now for the conspirators to consummate their treason, and to finish what they had begun.

The end proposed by the conspirators seems to have been to throw confusion between the rival claims of Constantine and Nicholas, and in the midst of the uncertainty and suspense produced by it, to intimidate the Senate, and induce it to aid them in compelling Nicholas and Constantine to renounce their rival claims to the throne; then to call a con-

vocation of deputies from the provinces, who would choose another sovereign, invested only with the powers of a limited constitutional monarchy; and establish, in co-ordinate power with him, deliberative bodies and a representative government. These ends were to be obtained either with or without the effusion of blood, as events might render necessary. The assassination of the emperor was resolved on, should he exhibit the least resistance; and Ryleïeff, one of the leading conspirators, was selected to strike the fatal blow.

On the 26th of December, uncertainty and gloom overspread St. Petersburg. It was resolved by the new czar, that early in the morning of that day the important ceremony should be performed, of administering the oath of allegiance to the regiments of guards in the capital. On the night of the 25th, the emperor had received a letter from Rostoftsof, informing him that during the last two days, the conspirators had been active in corrupting the guards. The immediate outburst of the revolution was apprehended; and that fear prevented Nicholas from publishing his manifesto at that moment. This neglect was imprudent; for the manifesto contained a recital of the facts connected with Constantine's refusal to accept the crown, and his own proffered allegiance to Nicholas. This information

would have thrown great light on the real state of the case, and on the duty devolving on the soldiery, and on the nation.

But without that manifesto, and being in ignorance of these essential facts, the guards, when called upon to swear allegiance to Nicholas, were naturally surprised and apprehensive of wrong. They had just taken the oath of allegiance to Constantine; why should they turn traitors to that solemn obligation, and assume another oath to a different person? They had received no information as yet, which justified such a course; and hence a painful uncertainty and fatal delusion, operated on the minds of thousands of brave and loyal men. This uncertainty was most perilous to the safety of the throne, and most favourable to the treasonable designs of the conspirators.

The conspiracy comprised among its members many officers and noblemen of high rank, as well as a multitude of others of lower grade. Among them were also men of letters; and some whose families had been connected with the glory of the nation for several centuries. Prince Troubetskoi had just been appointed military governor of Kief, and at that time enjoyed the confidence of the court. This nobleman was descended from that Tchernigoff who was illustrious in the history of

Russia, and who had been a competitor for the throne of the czars at the period when the free suffrages of the boyards, had elected the first Romanoff to the cares and honours of empire. Ryleïeff was one of the most distinguished literary men of Russia, being a poet of acknowledged genius. Bestoujeff was amiable, accomplished, and beloved for his many virtues. Jakoubovitch was savage and ferocious in his temper, and had counselled the most desperate measures to his associates in the conspiracy. These misguided persons—the professed friends of freedom and republicanism—had thought it necessary, that the association should have a *dictator*; and Troubetskoi was chosen to fill that dangerous post, as if the hour had at length arrived, when the ancient pretensions of his family were to be fulfilled in the downfall of the Romanoffs. But he seemed to be totally unfit for this distinction; for the shrewd Ryleïeff, being asked whether the conspirators had not chosen an admirable chief, replied, sarcastically, “Yes, in stature!”

The means contemplated by the conspirators for accomplishing their purposes, were the corruption of the soldiery, and also the seduction of the *mujiks*, or populace, to unite with them. The population in St. Petersburg was at that time com-

posed of 75,000 males, in addition to the military, and a proportion of two-sevenths of that number of women. These 75,000 mujiks are the deadly enemies of the police, who brutally whip them on every possible occasion. They are constantly unfavourably affected toward the court; and brandy liberally distributed among them, will, at any time of danger or uncertainty in the government, render them the pliant and desperate tools of revolutionary agitators.

On the morning of the 26th of December, the conspirators had succeeded in drawing over to their side the regiment of Moscow, the corps of Marine Guards, and half the battalion of the Grenadier Guards. This small force was marched into the immense Square of St. Isaacs, and took its position in the rear of the statue of Peter the Great. A large concourse of the populace accompanied them, among whom were many of the conspirators disguised, and a multitude of others, who only waited to see the direction of events to determine their own conduct. All those who had declared for the conspirators, had been won over by the false statements of the conspirators, that the Grand Duke Constantine had *not* refused the throne; that both he and the Grand Duke Michael were then in chains; and that Nicholas was

a usurper. Bestoujeff even declared to the soldiers that he himself had just returned from Warsaw, and had been witness of the imprisonment of the grand dukes. "Long live the Emperor Constantine!" was shouted continually by these misguided troops, while, for several hours, they remained standing in the Great Square of St. Isaacs, waiting for the military heads of the conspiracy.

These leaders were Troubetskoi and Bulatof; but neither of them appeared at this critical moment. Bulatof remained during the whole day in the escort of Nicholas, to which he belonged; and had not the courage to act the perilous part which he had undertaken. Troubetskoi was indeed present among the crowd, but did not come forward to take the command; and fled, first to the house of his mother-in-law, next to the Austrian ambassador, and last of all, to the presence of Nicholas, surrounded by his staff.

In this condition, deserted by their leaders, the misguided soldiers remained in St. Isaac's Square until one o'clock. During this interval Nicholas had remained in the Winter Palace, while the oath of allegiance was being administered to the regiments, consisting of thirteen thousand men, who had not revolted. This task being finished, the emperor was informed by Mirotatovitch, the Gover-

nor-general of St. Petersburg, of the state of revolt, in which a portion of the troops, amounting to about three thousand men, then were. It was now time to act on the offensive, and Nicholas began to display those qualities of intrepidity and sagacity, which rendered his conduct on this critical occasion memorable.

He immediately ordered Count Alexis Orloff to bring into the square the squadrons of Horse-Guards which he commanded, and which were then stationed at some distance. He obeyed, and defiled into the square with a rapidity which had a powerful effect in directing the fortunes of the day. Nicholas then ordered the commanding officer of the regiment of Preobrajensk to conduct his troops into the square. Several companies of the Grenadiers of Paolofsk, the sappers of the Guards, the chasseurs of Finland,—all were summoned simultaneously by Nicholas to take up their positions in front of the revolting regiments.

These orders being obeyed, Nicholas came forth from the Winter Palace. As he gazed from its spacious portals toward the Admiralty and the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, his eye beheld a large portion of that vast square filled with the soldiers who had revolted, surrounded by a tumultuous multitude who had joined them, and were pre-

pared to act with the military. They continually rent the air with loud and confused shouts of "Long live the Emperor Constantine!" A few of the leading conspirators, among whom was Ryleïeff, the most intrepid of all his associates, were active in going from rank to rank, strengthening the resolution of the soldiers to fight and to die for the cause of their legitimate sovereign, Constantine.

At length, surrounded by his generals, Nicholas advanced across the plain toward the disaffected multitude. At this moment an officer was seen to gallop forth from the midst of the insurgents, his right hand thrust into the breast of his uniform. As he approached, the emperor advanced to meet him; and when they had arrived at a sword's length from each other, Nicholas inquired, "What do you bring me?" The officer met the emperor's steady gaze; his hand moved convulsively under his uniform; he trembled, and then, without saying a word, he turned his horse and rode back again to his associates. Said he, "The czar looked at me with such a terrible glance that I could not kill him!" Nicholas indeed seemed to have been anxious to spare the effusion of the blood of his subjects. He requested Count Miloradovitch to approach, and address the rebels. He did so; but his voice was drowned by loud shouts of "Long live Constantine!" At this

moment, Rahhofski approached the aged general, discharged his pistol, and wounded him mortally. It was reserved for the most chivalrous soldier, the Murat of Russia, who had escaped the shafts of death on fifty-six battle-fields throughout Europe, to fall at length by the hand of a Russian assassin.

At this instant the multitude of rebels raised the loud cry of "Constitution!" to which was appended also the name of Constantine. It appears that in Russ, the word *constitoutzia* or *constitution* has a feminine termination; and the ignorant multitude supposed that by the double phrase thus used by their leaders, was meant Constantine and his *wife*!

The increasing acclamations of the multitude for Constantine and the constitution, together with the fall of Miloradovitch, aroused Nicholas from the benevolent lethargy in which, until that moment, he seemed to have rested; and he determined at once to take active and extreme measures. He ordered a charge of cavalry to break the square in which the troops of the revolt had been formed. He hoped that by this charge the insurgents would give way, and the multitude, now drunk with brandy, would retreat from the impending danger. His expectations were disappointed; the rebels made a determined resistance. One of these attacked the Grand Duke Michael in person, and would have dispatched

him, had it not been for the timely protection of some marines of the guards. The savage and desperate Jakoubovitch rushed forward, and struggled to reach the person of Nicholas, determined to strike a fatal blow. The shades of night were about to settle down upon the lamentable scene of carnage and confusion, without any decisive result having been achieved by either side. Nicholas saw the necessity of taking more active and determined measures. He ordered the cannon to be brought into the Great Square, whose white vesture of snow had already become tinged with blood. The command to fire on the insurgents was immediately given, and a deluge of shot was sent into the thick mass of living flesh. The effect was terrible. Discharge followed after discharge. Hundreds of dead and wounded soon burdened the wintry earth; and the rest began in terror and confusion to make their escape from the impending havoc. The retreating multitude fled in a tumultuous torrent to the Bassili Ostroff, an island on the opposite side of the frozen Neva, near the English quay. The pursuit continued down the long street of Galernaia, and in the by-streets. The pathway of their retreat was covered with dead bodies. At length the pursuit was stopped, and a thousand killed and wounded, and eight hundred

prisoners, testified to the fury and desperation of the conflict.

At six o'clock in the evening of this memorable day, Nicholas returned to the Winter Palace. He had dared the most imminent danger, had exhibited the utmost intrepidity, and had achieved a decisive victory over a powerful and dangerous conspiracy. From that moment he was seated securely on his throne. The power of revolt was crushed. Henceforth his sceptre of empire was undisturbed; and a glorious destiny began to open wide its enchanting vistas of felicity and renown before him. Such, at least, were then the prognostications of short-sighted humanity.

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF MILORADOVITCH—TE DEUM CHANTED—ARREST OF THE LEADING CONSPIRATORS—TROUBETSKOI—THE SOLDIERS TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO NICHOLAS—PRINCE TCHERNYCHEFF—COMMISSION APPOINTED TO TRY THE CONSPIRATORS—NICHOLAS APPOINTS HIS CABINET MINISTERS—THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE'S LETTER OF CONGRATULATION TO NICHOLAS I.

ON entering the palace after these perilous scenes, Nicholas found the empress bathed in tears, and trembling with terror. She might well have been apprehensive of the dangers which surrounded her husband, during that awful interval of suspense; but his safe return happily dispelled her fears, and she united her congratulations with that of the court, upon his fortunate escape.

As soon as he had returned their congratulations, he hastened to the bedside of the dying Miloradovitch. An affecting scene ensued. Nicholas had arrived in time to witness the dissolution of his ancient friend, and to receive his last sigh. He had but one request to make, and that was, that the emperor would provide for his only surviving relative in the world, a widowed sister, Marie Alexieovna.

Nicholas promised to do so, and afterward granted her a pension of 10,000 rubles. He also paid all the general's debts, and ordered his funeral to be performed with extraordinary magnificence. It was attended by the whole court, and all the regiments in St. Petersburg.

Returning after his sad interview with Milorodovitch to the empress, the first exclamation of the new czar was: "What a commencement for a reign!" His apprehensions for the future were still most gloomy; for he could not be assured that all the ramifications of the conspiracy had been crushed. Later in the evening he ordered a *Te Deum* to be chanted in the chapel of the palace, at which the whole court attended. He followed up his triumph with the necessary precautions, and ordered every approach to the palace to be securely guarded. Many regiments passed the night in bivouac around huge fires, in the Great Square before the palace, the scene of the late conflict. The Cossacks of the Guard traversed every part of the city during the night, to maintain order and capture the fugitives.

The next duty which devolved on the new emperor, was the punishment of the unfortunate conspirators.

Every thing connected with the conspiracy was revealed, through the cowardice and stupidity of

Troubetskoi, the Brutus, the dictator, who had been chosen as the head and chief of the whole movement. As soon as the revolt commenced, instead of appearing at the head of the troops, he hastened to the military office, at the Winter Palace, to take the oath of allegiance to Nicholas. A severe nervous attack detained him for some time at that office. As soon as he recovered from it, he hastened to conceal himself at his sister's house. His terrors here again overcame him, and, under the cover of the night, he took refuge in the house of his brother-in-law, the Count of Lebzelttern, the Austrian representative. But while he remained there, he forgot that he had left all his secret papers at his own house. These papers contained the names of the conspirators, and the details of all their plans. No better proof of the secrets of the conspiracy could possibly have been desired. They carried ruin to every one who had the slightest connection with the movement.

The agents of the police soon reached the house of Troubetskoi, and these fatal papers were all seized. Count Nesselrode, during the night, went in person to the house of the Austrian minister, and endeavoured to persuade him to influence the recreant Brutus to make no resistance to the will of the emperor. His arguments proved successful.

The vacillating Troubetskoi went, under the conduct of an aide-de-camp of the emperor, to the palace, and after a short interval was admitted to the presence of Nicholas. At first he denied all connection with the conspiracy. His own papers were then shown to him. Some of these were written in his own handwriting; others were signed with his name. He was overcome by these proofs, and, falling at the feet of Nicholas, implored his mercy, and asked for his life. "It is granted," replied Nicholas; "sit down, and write to your wife." Troubetskoi, trembling from head to foot, sat down, and waited for the dictation of the emperor. "Write; I am well." This he wrote. "My life will be spared." Hearing these words, he hesitated. "Write and seal the letter," continued Nicholas. He obeyed. The emperor then said to him, "If you have the courage to support a life dishonoured thus, and devoted to remorse, I grant it you, but it is all I promise;" and he turned away from the craven culprit with disgust.

During the 27th of December the public tranquillity remained undisturbed. At nine o'clock in the morning, Nicholas was observed to leave the palace on horseback, accompanied by a single aide-de-camp. He rode along the lines of the troops, who still stood to their arms in the Great Square of St.

Isaac's, before the palace. He thanked them for their fidelity and bravery; he released them from their duty, and each company defiled before him on their way to their quarters. He gave orders for the issue of double rations of meat, fish, and brandy. Their pay was also increased; and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed throughout their ranks.

Toward those misguided regiments who had been seduced by the conspirators, he determined to exercise great clemency. They had been the victims of the false representations of their leaders, and they excited his pity. They had obeyed only their duty, as they thought, in proclaiming the succession of Constantine. The Marines of the Guards, who willingly took the oath of allegiance to Nicholas, he at once forgave. Their colours, thus stained by revolt, were taken from them, and consecrated anew. The czar then returned them with his own hand, and said: "You have lost your honour; seek now to regain it!" All the other companies were pardoned, on condition that their most active leaders in the revolt should be given up, formed into a single company, and sent to serve in the Caucasus; that they might wash away the stains which polluted their colours, in the blood of the fiercest foes of the Russian power and name. Thus the

soldiery were disposed of, who had been beguiled into the conspiracy.

But a much more difficult and unpleasant task remained, with reference to the guilty leaders and instigators of the revolution. Their arrest continued during the 27th and 28th of December. The papers of Troubetskoi were the death-warrants which sealed the fate of all. The fortress of St. Petersburg soon became crowded with the sons of generals, civil functionaries, literati, princes, and officers. Among their number were Ryleïeff, Rakhofski, Obolmski, the Bestoujeffs, Jakoubovitch, Troubetskoi, Pestel, Muravief, and Suwarroff, a son of the illustrious general. These were the heads of the conspiracy, though they were accompanied by a vast herd of the subordinates.

Nicholas himself conducted the first examination of some of the conspirators. It was scarcely day on the 28th of December when he summoned Bestoujeff to his presence. He addressed the conspirator in these words: "General Bestoujeff, your father, was a faithful servant; he has left behind him degenerate sons. Where were you on the 26th?" "Near your person, sire; and had you shown any weakness, I would have slain you; but you displayed such heroic fortitude, that I could not strike." The emperor inquired, "Who were your

associates? and what were your resources?" He answered, "Sire, such things should not be revealed before witnesses." Nicholas retired with him to a private cabinet; but the issue of the conversation was not revealed.

Young Prince Tchernycheff, descended from one of the most illustrious families of Russia, was among the conspirators. Nicholas, on account of his youth, desired to save him. "Is it possible," said the czar, "that you have incurred this guilt? Disavow the principles which you have professed, and I will pardon you." Tchernycheff refused. Said he: "I have only acted according to my conscience!" He was afterward exiled to Irkutsk, but was pardoned in 1829, and sent to join the army of the Caucasus, in the ranks. Such was the heroism, the intrepidity, displayed by some of those who had been associated together in this abortive revolution.

The emperor immediately appointed a commission to try the leaders of the revolt, who were now in prison. This commission consisted of the Grand Duke Michael, Prince Alexander Galitsin, General Tatischeff, Koutousoff, Governor of St. Petersburg, Potapoff, Benkendorff, and several others. This commission sat for five months, and determined the fate of one hundred and twenty persons. They decided, after a careful investigation of all the facts,

that these hundred and twenty persons all deserved the penalty of death. But the commission appealed to the imperial clemency, and classed the criminals under eleven heads, making an exception only of five; whom they set apart in consequence of the enormity of their crimes. These were Pestel, Ry-leïeff, Muravief, Bestoujef-Rumini, and Kakhofski. These they condemned to be quartered alive.

Thirty-one persons the commission placed in the first category, and were sentenced to be beheaded. The second list were condemned to banishment to Siberia for life; and the other classes, to penalties less severe, in proportion to the enormity of their crime.

Nicholas, however, commuted these penalties to others of a less severe character. The five persons condemned to be quartered were hung, and the other penalties were mitigated in proportion. On the 25th of July, 1826, the execution of the five pre-eminent felons took place on the *glacis* of the fortress of St. Petersburg. Their swords were first broken over their heads; their epaulettes and military decorations were thrown into the fire; gibbets instead of crosses were erected over their graves, and over the graves of the officers who had been killed during the revolt on the 26th.

The new czar, however, displayed his benevo-

lence by giving pensions and presents to the relatives of the executed criminals. To the father of Pestel he gave fifty thousand rubles. He promoted his brother to the post of aid-de-camp in his service. He lavished wealth on Rostoftsof, who had first given information respecting the conspiracy. He sent his condolence to the widow of Ryleïeff. Her reply was: "The only favour I ask of the emperor is to share the fate of my husband."

The rope with which Muravief and Ryleïeff were hung broke, and they fell to the ground. Muravief exclaimed, "In this cursed country they don't even know how to hang a man!" Ryleïeff replied, "Decidedly nothing succeeds with me; not even hanging." Such was the courageous indifference displayed by some of the conspirators, to their horrible fate.

One of the first acts of Nicholas, after the suppression of the conspiracy, was to publish a manifesto, and appoint his cabinet officers.

In this manifesto he congratulated his subjects on the fortunate suppression of the revolt, and the re-establishment of peace and security. He promised that the seeds of disaffection should be rooted out of the "sacred soil of Russia." He declared that there was a difference and vast interval between a rational desire for improvement, and the

fury of radicalism. The one he would promote; the other he would extirpate. He expressed his undiminished confidence in the unchanging fidelity and loyalty of the Russian nation.

In the selection of his cabinet ministers, Nicholas displayed great wisdom and discretion. He appointed the celebrated Count Nesselrode to the important office of Minister of Foreign Affairs. His family was Westphalian in its origin. He was himself born on board an English ship in the port of Lisbon, and he had entered the Russian service. Hence it was that Pope Gregory XVI. said wittily respecting him, that he represented in his person the Quadruple Alliance. Nesselrode was pliant in his disposition, but possessed profound diplomatic skill, great craft and sagacity, and was a match for Metternich and Fouché, even in their most intricate intrigues. He was also intimately acquainted with the state of all the European countries. He had long been in the service of the Russian czars, and was familiar with all the traditions of the department of foreign affairs. He had possessed the confidence of Alexander, under whose reign he was at the head of the department termed the "College of the Empire."

General Tatischeff was appointed Minister of War. This officer was able, upright, and laborious:

qualities of rare and sterling value. He had some slight tendency toward reform in the government; but it was not so decided as to render him objectionable to the emperor.

To the department of Finance Count Cancrine was designated, as being the most skilful financier in the Russian dominions. He was a German by birth; an officer of the old school, laborious, profoundly learned, and exceedingly accurate, and possessing at the same time the highest reputation for unflinching integrity. He was the opposite of Tatischeff in political sentiment, and was a supporter of absolutism to its fullest extent. He has been since termed, very justly, "the Colbert of Russia." He displayed his ability in the vast improvement which he soon introduced, into the disordered and exhausted finances of Russia. He retired from office in 1844, and died one year afterward. He published an able work after his retirement, which will endure as a monument of his vast financial genius.*

The emperor appointed Vice-Admiral Möller as Minister of the Marine Department. Privy Councillor Lauskoï retained the Ministry of the Interior. The department of Public Instruction was filled

* Die Ökonomie der Menschlichen Gesellschaften, (*The Economy of Human Societies*,) Stuttgart, 1845.

by M. Chischkoff, with whom M. Perofski was associated,—both of them profoundly learned men. The appanages of the imperial household were committed to the care of Count Gowrieff, formerly Minister of Finance. The vast domains of the crown, and the interests of the serfs, were afterward intrusted to the direction of Count Paul Kisseleff, the former governor of Moldavia and Wallachia.

In addition to the appointment of these great officers of state, several minor promotions of interest were made. General Orloff, whose services at a critical moment in the midst of the revolt of the 25th of December, in bringing his regiment so quickly into line, in front of the insurgents, in the Great Square of St. Isaac's,—the importance of which Nicholas duly appreciated,—was promoted to the office of Minister of Police. The *cordon rouge* of the Order of St. Alexander Newski was conferred on General Buckendorff, Count Kemmerofski, Zarefski, and Baron de Toll, all of whom rendered important services to the czar, on the memorable day of the revolt.

In Poland, the most important province of the Russian crown, all the staff and royal guards stationed in Warsaw swore allegiance to the new czar on the 2d of January, 1826, in the presence of the

Grand Duke Constantine himself. The same day the same oath was taken by all the ministers and councils of the administration, by the Polish Senate, by the council of state, by the municipal authorities, and by all the commissioners and functionaries of government.

On the 7th of January Constantine addressed from Warsaw a letter to Nicholas, in which the following sentiments occur. "Sire, I have received with the most lively satisfaction the edict by which your imperial majesty has deigned to acquaint me of your happy accession to the throne of your ancestors—of our beloved Russia. *The supreme law of the empire is the will of the sovereign whom Providence grants to us.* In accomplishing this will, your imperial majesty has accomplished the will of the King of kings, who, in events of importance, evidently inspires the monarchs of the earth. If I have in any degree co-operated toward the accomplishment of the decrees of Providence, I have only fulfilled my duty as a faithful subject, as a devoted brother—the duty, in short, of a Russian *who is proud of the happiness of obeying God and his sovereign.*" During the progress of these events in the north, an insurrection which had been organized by Pestel and Sergius Mourovieff in the southern army of Russia broke forth. This army was under the

command of Prince Wittgenstein, and was stationed on the Pruth. This revolt was easily suppressed by the energy and resolution of Lieutenants Roth and Geisman, on its first outburst, on the 15th of January, 1826. Immediately afterward, the whole army of the south, consisting of 120,000 men, took the oath of allegiance to Nicholas I. This branch of the revolt against the regular succession to the throne was more badly managed, and displayed even more lamentable cowardice and indecision, than that which had occurred in St. Petersburg.

CHAPTER VIII.

VAST MAGNITUDE OF THE EMPIRE INHERITED BY NICHOLAS I.—PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF NICHOLAS AT THE PERIOD OF HIS ACCESSION—HIS INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES—GEOGRAPHICAL LIMITS OF HIS EMPIRE—HIS MILITARY RESOURCES—HIS NAVAL FORCES—THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE POLICE OF RUSSIA—REVENUES OF THE EMPIRE—ATTACHMENT OF THE GREEK CHURCH TO THE CZARS—NICHOLAS BECOMES THE GREAT REPRESENTATIVE OF ABSOLUTISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

AMONG the many memorable instances recorded in history, in which youthful sovereigns have ascended to the possession of brilliant thrones, we know of none which equals, in every element of personal splendour, political grandeur, and prospective glory, that of the accession of Nicholas I.

The empire to which Charles V. fell heir in the sixteenth century was small in extent, and insignificant in resources, compared with that of the Russian czar; though at a later period, when elected Emperor of Germany, he obtained a vast addition to his jurisdiction, which still left him the inferior of the Russian potentate.

Napoleon I., when his head was first graced by the iron crown of Lombardy, possessed a power

which was, in every sense, most transient and insecure; and which bore in its own bosom, the seeds and the presage of its inevitable dissolution.

The present Queen of England, the prolific Victoria, is a mere puppet in the hands of her ministers and parliaments; and does not actually possess as much real power as the President of the United States. Francis Joseph, the youthful representative of the ancient house of Hapsburg, is known to be an intellectual weakling, who fears to exercise authority which he might possess, and who uniformly defers to the wiser judgment of his mother, his cabinet, and his confessor. He is the mere representative of a despotic power, which is secretly usurped by other and more able hands.

It was not thus with the youthful Czar of Russia who, in 1825, ascended the throne of the Muscovite kings. In his case, there were circumstances of superiority and splendour which rendered his position an unequalled one, even in the long catalogue of mighty and illustrious sovereigns. Let us glance for a moment at the constituent elements, of the transcendent power and glory of Nicholas I.

In his person and intellect, nature had fitted him to rule over his fellow-men, by the undeniable claim of superior physical and intellectual gifts. The Mar-

quis de Custine enthusiastically describes him as a god,—as one intended to sway the sceptre of dominion over commonplace mortals; and as one of those rare instances in which a man of great talents, had fortunately reached the very place for which nature had pre-eminently fitted him. That Nicholas possessed a great intellect, either of a military, political, or literary character, may well be doubted. But that he was gifted with a clear, sagacious judgment, with dauntless resolution, with unwavering perseverance, and a well-balanced mind, none will deny who are familiar with his history. He thoroughly understood all the details of his duties. He knew every thing that it became so great a sovereign to know. The machinery of government, though not its philosophy, he clearly comprehended. And he delighted in the exercise of all his prerogatives and functions. It was, in a word, the great aim and end, as well as the highest gratification, of his existence, to act, to speak, and to think, as became a monarch ruling over the greatest empire in the world.

To prove that such were the dimensions of the dominion of Nicholas, let us glance at the details of its geographical limits. Without exaggeration, it was the largest in the world. Russia in *Europe* extends from the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea

on the north, to the Sea of Azoff and the Black Sea on the south; being about fifteen hundred miles in a straight line from its northern to its southern limits. It extends from the Ural Mountains and the Volga on the east, to Posen and Silesia on the west; being twelve hundred miles from the one boundary to the other. It comprises fifty-four different governments, each having their capital cities and separate jurisdiction, subject only to the central government at St. Petersburg. It comprises one-half of the territory of the Continent of Europe; and it is thickly populated throughout nearly its whole extent.

But the dominion of the czars does not terminate here. Russia in Asia extends from the Ural Mountains, the boundary between Europe and Asia, to Kamskatka, the most eastern country of Asia; and sweeping across the whole of the northern half of the latter continent, for twenty-five hundred miles, comprises a territory equal in extent to the whole of China. Thus the mandate of Nicholas, seated on his despotic throne at St. Petersburg, was obeyed with the most obsequious submission, from east to west, throughout a continuous area of four thousand miles! His subjects were sixty-five millions in number. His jurisdiction extended actually over one-seventh of the whole surface of the habitable globe!

The military resources of the czar were equally

great. The active army of Russia consists of two hundred and eighty-eight battalions, containing one thousand men each. The army of reserve on the peace establishment consisted of seventy-two thousand men. Thus, under ordinary circumstances, when Russia was not engaged in active hostilities with a foreign nation, her standing army contained about five hundred thousand men; for in addition to the numbers just named, there must be added one hundred and forty-six regiments of Cossacks, numbering one hundred and twenty thousand. When the present war against Turkey was proclaimed, Nicholas ordered an additional levy of three hundred thousand men; thus making the whole military force of the empire, including the naval arm of the service, amount to one million of men, at the commencement of the present struggle in the East. With this prodigious force at his command, it is not singular that the haughty czar indulged the belief, that he had but to stretch forth his hand and grasp the sceptre and the crown of Constantinople with facility.

The efficiency of the military force of the czar is evinced by the fact, that his soldiers are the picked men of Europe and of Asia. Cameron, an English writer who witnessed a grand review of the army, describes the men as presenting a formidable ap-

pearance. There were powerfully built cuirassiers, sinewy Hulans, light and active hussars, gigantic grenadiers, agile riflemen, mail-clad Circassians, and barbarous-looking Cossacks;—all, combined together, forming an army of unequalled power and effectiveness.

The naval force of Russia is also one of great strength. It musters, in time of peace, fifty-five ships of the line and thirty heavy frigates, which are manned by fifty thousand seamen. This force is divided into two great squadrons—the Baltic fleet, and the Black Sea fleet. It is commanded by sixty-three admirals, seventy-two captains of the first rank, and eighty of the second.

While the czar commands this prodigious force to assist in the external security of his dominions, his police establishment is the largest, the most powerful, and the most adroit, in the world.

In Russia, the police establishment is divided into two separate sections. The first is the political or high police. To this we, in republican America, have fortunately no counterpart. The second division is the civil or municipal police.

Superintended by the minister of police at St. Petersburg, the high police forms one of the most extraordinary institutions which the mind can conceive. Its agents are innumerable, and their num-

bers are expressly kept concealed. They are to be found actively employed not only throughout Russia, but even throughout Europe. It would be perfectly useless for the subjects of the czar to attempt to release themselves from the surveillance of this secret power in any quarter of the globe. Their eyes are open, their ears are attentive, their scrutiny is close and severe, in every land; and they continually despatch, to the great centre of their association at St. Petersburg, narrations of all that they see and hear and know. A Russian traveller who has visited, for purposes of pleasure, business, or instruction, remote quarters of the globe, is astounded on returning to St. Petersburg to find a report of all his conduct during his absence there before him. These political police dress in various ways, and assume different disguises; and are even sometimes seen as bare-legged ballet-dancers in the theatres of the great cities of Western Europe. "I have with my own eyes," says a French writer, "in February, 1848, seen one of their well-known agents going all over Paris, with an enormous trace of red wool at his button-hole, in an attire which the most disorderly conspirator would have commended." Often the imprudent Russian has been tempted, when in the arms of some fair and frail nymph, to give utterance to his political heresies; and together with his gifts

of gold and jewels, to impart his political discontents to his fascinating charmer. The next thing he knows is, that he is betrayed by her as an agent of the secret political police.

The omnipresent and permeating power of this police is only equalled by that of the municipal police; though its influence is necessarily confined to the limits of the Russian dominions. The municipal police carry to extremes, the vigilance and perfidy which usually mark that branch of the government. While professing only to detect crimes, it pries into every domestic secret; and there is not a family in all Russia, whose most hidden arcana are not known, inspected, and scrutinized by the innumerable agents of the municipal police; and, if thought to be of the slightest importance, are immediately and secretly reported at St. Petersburg.

It was another element of the greatness of the power inherited by Nicholas, that his dominions were then free from the horrors of war, as entailed on his predecessor by the amazing ambition of Napoleon. His vast territories, at the period of his accession, enjoyed the great blessings attendant upon a profound peace with all the world. The struggles through which the Russian nation had just passed with the French adventurer, had trained

them to the science of war; but it had also taught them to appreciate the inestimable blessings of peace; and, for ten years, they had carefully and industriously husbanded all their resources, and enjoyed, in consequence, an unusual share of commercial prosperity. The financial condition of the vast empire of Nicholas was a favourable one. The revenues of the state, at the period of his accession, were far greater than they had ever been at any previous period.

In the reign of Peter the Great the revenue of the Russian government was 60,000,000 rubles.* In 1770, under Catherine II., the revenue was 150,000,000 rubles. Under Alexander I., it was 200,000,000. Under Nicholas I., the revenue amounted to 500,000,000. Before the present war in the East began, the Russian public debt was 320,000,000 rubles; and the surplus in the treasury, over the annual expenditures of the government, promised soon to wipe away that incumbrance, which had been entailed by the wars of Napoleon. Thus not only was the bankruptcy of the empire an impossible thing; but the czar could regard himself and his dominions as being in a state of unusual financial prosperity.

* A ruble is about sixty cents of our currency.

In addition to all these elements of strength it is necessary to add, that Nicholas possessed the support of the Greek Church, and the hierarchy in all their various grades. The ecclesiastics of Russia are dependent for their incomes directly upon the throne. From the great archimandrid of St. Petersburg down to the lowest sub-deacon and sacristan, all derive their salaries from the government. This, of course, makes them the obsequious servants of the crown, and especially where the sovereign took special measures—as did Nicholas—to proclaim to the world that he was a faithful son of the Holy Orthodox Greek Church; the enthusiastic support tendered him by the hierarchy became an engine of immense power. The priesthood naturally exercised vast influence over an ignorant and bigoted populace; and the subservient churchmen willingly taught their innumerable dupes, to regard the pious czar as the head of the church on earth, as the representative of God himself, and even, in some measure, as an inferior divinity!

In a word, Nicholas I. represented, in his own person, the great aggressive and conservative power of our time. After the downfall of Napoleon, he became the head and leader of the despotic powers of Europe, and the great repre-

sentative of absolutism in the nineteenth century. Metternich, Louis Philippe, Guizot, even Windischgratz, Jellachich, and Haynau, were indirectly his agents and subordinates, in the great and infamous work of rolling back the advancing tide of human freedom. In this age of progress, one man thought himself powerful enough to suppress the upward tendencies of the whole world, and that man was *Nicholas I.*

The absolute nature of his power in his own dominions can scarcely be credited. He was the political colossus of Europe—a colossus that was not only powerful, but untrammelled, and free. He possessed the absolute control of life and death over his subjects. By a single nod, he could enfranchise and disfranchise them. By a single word, he could raise them from poverty to opulence, and degrade them from opulence to poverty again. His iron will, unrestrained by a single restriction or guarantee, could inflict the horrors of Siberia, the agonies of the knout, and the penalties of infamy and dishonour, upon any unfortunate being who might incur his displeasure.

Such a power, intrusted to the hands of one frail mortal, is fearful to look upon! And to us, free-born republicans, who acknowledge no man on earth as master, its possession seems to be a most

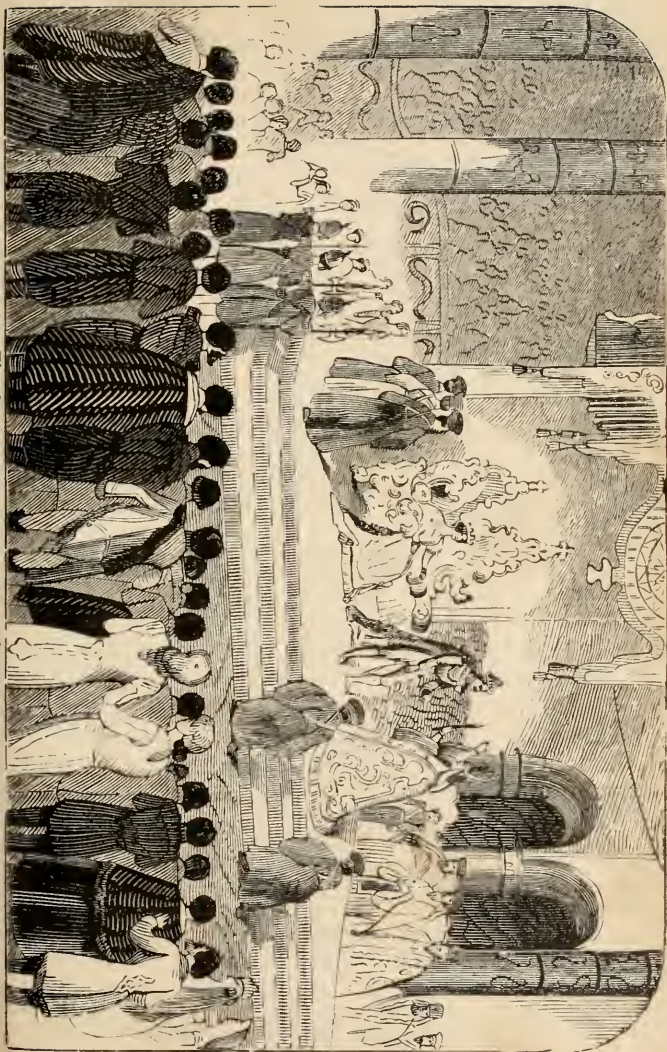
execrable and detestable outrage on humanity! And the truth of this conviction will be evinced, when, at a later stage of our history, it becomes our duty to relate how the insane and haughty ambition of this single man, threw Europe into a most dangerous, ruinous, and expensive war, and caused the death and the misery of several millions of his fellow-creatures.

CHAPTER IX.

CORONATION OF NICHOLAS I.—THE VAST CROWDS OF PERSONS ASSEMBLED IN MOSCOW FROM VARIOUS COUNTRIES—DESCRIPTION OF THE KREMLIN—THE IMPERIAL PROCESSIONS—THE IMPOSING CEREMONIES IN THE CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION—THE MANIFESTO PUBLISHED BY NICHOLAS AFTER HIS CORONATION—THE CONTINUED FESTIVITIES, BALLS, AND MASQUERADES IN MOSCOW—CONGRATULATIONS THROUGHOUT THE EMPIRE.

SUCH were the powers and the prerogatives to whose possession Nicholas I. had fallen heir. For various reasons, the important ceremony of his coronation was postponed for some months. At length this imposing ceremony took place at Moscow, on the 3d of September, 1826, amid such pomp and splendour as to have exceeded any thing recorded in the previous history of the nation. Nicholas, together with the empress, the empress-mother, and their suites, had arrived at Moscow some three weeks before. They had taken up their residence at the ancient castle and palace of the Kremlin; and the interval between their arrival in Moscow and the ceremony of coronation, had been occupied by various festivals, both

The Coronation of Nicholas at Moscow



religious and social, which gave the occasion the gay appearance of a general carnival.

This august occasion had drawn together to Moscow, as to a common centre, representatives of all the various races which were subject to the powerful sceptre of the czars, as well as from many other countries of Europe and of Asia. The streets of the city were crowded with a vast and heterogeneous multitude, amounting to 350,000 persons, although the usual number of its inhabitants was only half as great. Various regiments of soldiers, amounting to 50,000 men, were stationed in and around the city, and mixed together with its numerous visitors.

First, St. Petersburg had sent a large and splendid delegation; all the greatest families of that city being then represented at Moscow. The whole *corps diplomatique* at the Russian court had transferred themselves from the modern to the ancient capital. Even the Pope himself had honoured the sovereign and the occasion, with the presence of a nuncio of high rank. There were to be seen great ambassadors from the monarchs of the remotest countries of Asia,—from the King of Siam, from the Emperor of China, from the Grand Lama of Thibet, from the Great Khan of Tartary, together with their suites;—sent to congratulate the

czar on this happy occasion; but speaking in unknown tongues, and wearing the strange yet magnificent costumes of oriental climes. The bold warriors of the Caucasus were there, sent by the illustrious Shamyl, at that time the friend and ally of the Russian power. There were to be seen, arrayed in the peculiar costumes of their native lands, representatives from Mongolia, from the boundless steppes of the Caspian, from the base of the Ural Mountains. There, conspicuous among many others, was Prince Sartai, Lord of the Middle Horde, who dwelt near the Sea of Aral;—a potentate, ignorant and contemptuous of European manners and civilization; but wearing an Oriental dress of gorgeous splendour, glittering from head to foot with diamonds of untold value; and proudly bearing in his veins the blood of the immortal Ghengis Khan. There, were representatives from the banks of the Volga; rude Cossacks from the Don; the persecuted, yet unconquerable Pole; the rich boyard of Wallachia and Moldavia, the beautiful Georgian, the graceful Circassian,—still the unwavering adherents of the False Prophet;—the supple Greek, and even the dwarfish and skin-clad Greenlander;—all were there, to represent remote, unique, and remarkable races of men, in that general and joyful assemblage of nations.

The ceremony of the coronation of Nicholas was to take place in one of the great cathedrals of the Kremlin. This ancient and stupendous monument of the power and resources of the former czars of Muscovy, consisted of a vast assemblage of fortresses, palaces, and churches, forming a city within themselves. Many of its edifices had been blown up and ruined, at the period of the invasion of Napoleon; but these rude ravages of war had since been repaired, and the Kremlin had been restored to its pristine splendour.

The interior space or square of the Kremlin is occupied by three immense palaces, several convents and monasteries, and four magnificent cathedrals. The palaces are the Ancient Palace of the Czars, then occupied by the Holy Synod, the Angular Palace, and the New Palace, in which Nicholas and his suite were entertained. The cathedrals were those of St. John, in the centre, surmounted by the vast and lofty spire of Ivan; in the different stories of which, were chimes of bells amounting to thirty-two in number. The Cathedral of the Annunciation was adorned with nine elegant gilt cupolas, exhibiting more of Asiatic than of European architecture. The third was the Cathedral of St. Michael; and the fourth, the largest and most magnificent of all, was that of the Assumption. It was in this

edifice that the imposing ceremony of the coronation of the emperor and empress was to take place.

At sunrise on the 3d of September the great bells of the Cathedral of St. John announced, to the expectant multitude, the dawning of that illustrious day; and immediately the welcome signal was responded to by the bells of the city, whose melodious sounds were instantly wafted, from every quarter, to the turreted heights of the Kremlin.

The imperial *cortege* passed in three different processions, from the New Palace, to the Cathedral of the Assumption.

At ten o'clock the first procession commenced to move. It was headed by the empress-mother, wearing a crown on her brow, and robed in the imperial purple. She advanced under a magnificent canopy. She was followed by the Grand Duchess Helena, magnificently arrayed, and sparkling with jewels. Next came Prince Charles of Prussia, leading by the hand the youthful Grand Duke Alexander, then the heir-apparent, now the successor, of him who was that day to be crowned. Last of all came the princes of the Wurtemberg family, of Hesse-Hombourg, the Austrian ambassador, and their respective suites.

In the second procession, which soon followed, were borne, by the great officers of the crown, the

insignia of sovereign authority, including the two crowns, the sceptre, the globe, the standard of the imperial eagle, the imperial purple, the mantle, and the other ornaments intended for the empress. These were carried, in great state, to the Cathedral of the Assumption; and on their arriving at the gates of the church were received by the priests, enveloped with incense, and carried by them to the high altar.

At eleven o'clock, the third procession came forth from the palace, headed by the emperor in person. He was arrayed in a brilliant uniform, and walked under a canopy borne by sixteen generals of divisions. He was bareheaded, and on either side of him were the Grand Dukes Constantine and Michael. Next followed the Empress Alexandra, dressed in a robe of silver gauze. She was followed by her ladies of honour, by eminent persons in the state, and was supported by General de Sacken and Prince Volkonski. The Council of the Empire, the cabinet ministers, the senators, and high military officers, the professors of the University of Moscow, the Chief of the Corporation of Merchants, and the municipal authorities of the city, then followed.

The clergy, headed by the venerable Archimandrit Seraphim, who was entirely arrayed in gold,

advanced from the gates of the cathedral to meet the emperor. He bore a jewelled cross in his hand. He was supported on either side by the Metropolitan of Kief, and by the Archbishop of Moscow. Having met the imperial procession, the archimandrit extended the "vivifying cross" to Nicholas to kiss; the Archbishop of Moscow made a short address; and the Metropolitan of Kief sprinkled him with holy water.

Having entered the temple, Nicholas advanced and took his seat upon a throne, on the right of the sanctuary, under a brilliant canopy. The empress was conducted to another throne, to the right of her imperial consort. The rest of the procession were distributed in appropriate places throughout the edifice. The cathedral was crowded to excess, by a devout and serious multitude. Prominent were the clergy, arrayed in their most splendid robes. Officers in glittering uniforms were everywhere to be seen; and fair women, decked in their most bewitching smiles and elegant toilets, added their fascination to the brilliant scene. The throne on which Nicholas sat was called the *throne of diamonds*, being literally studded with precious stones. The throne of the Empress Alexandra was of gold, inlaid with rubies, pearls, and turquoises.

The solemn service at length began, and seraphic

music swelled through the lofty domes of the cathedral, chanting the sublime liturgy of the Greek Church. The chanting being ended, Seraphim advanced toward the emperor, and said, "Most pious and great Lord, our Emperor, and Autocrat of all the Russias! Since by the will of God, and by virtue of your command, you are now to be anointed with the holy oil, and you are here to be crowned, does it please you to make a profession of the Catholic orthodox faith?" The emperor assented; and Seraphim then repeated the apostles' creed, followed by the monarch.

The imperial ornaments were then brought. Nicholas received them from the Archbishop of Moscow, repeating, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." He placed the crown on the emperor's head; vested him with the purple mantle; placed the sceptre in his right hand, and the globe in his left. Various religious services then followed, of great solemnity and magnificence. Seraphim then approached the emperor, and said, "Thou art crowned of God, thou whom he has favoured with his gifts, and adorned with his grace, most potent autocrat of all the Russias; receive the symbols of supreme power which the Most High has given thee, to govern thy people, and secure to them every desirable felicity." The empress was

then arrayed in the imperial purple, a smaller crown was placed upon her head, by the emperor, and on her neck was suspended the collar of St. Andrew.

The religious services were then resumed. The Metropolitan of Novogorod preached a sermon. The solemn and sublime melody of the Greek service, executed only by human voices, followed the discourse. The Archimandrid Seraphim then bestowed his benediction on the sovereigns and on the people; and the various dignitaries, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, began to approach the throne of the czar successively, to tender to him their profound and respectful homage. When the empress-mother approached her son to offer him her congratulations, he advanced and supported her in his arms; for her emotions had overcome her, and she would have fallen to the ground. The scene was one in the highest degree impressive and affecting.

All the orders of the state and the foreign ambassadors, having in turn offered their homage to the czar, the archimandrid again blessed the vast assemblage; and while the sublime strains of the "*Gloria in Excelsis*" were reverberating through the temple, the emperor and attendants arose, and returned back in the same order in which they had entered the church, to the New Palace of the Czars.

That night Moscow was brilliantly illuminated. The white walls of the Kremlin were adorned with stars and luminous festoons, which also decked the spires of the cathedrals even up to their tapering summits. The vast banqueting rooms of the Kremlin were filled with guests. The whole city gave itself up to festivity and joy. For fifteen days after the coronation, these festivities, balls, and parades continued. Nicholas published a manifesto, in which he proclaimed his son Alexander, the present czar, his successor. He conferred orders and dignities on his most deserving subjects. He extended pardon to many who were imprisoned; and he gave the surest presage of a prosperous and fortunate reign, which the uncertainty of all human affairs can be supposed to allow, in the universal joy and congratulations of his subjects, and in the contentment with which they acknowledged the supremacy of the power, thus established over them.*

* Vide M. Ancelot's *Six Mois en Russie*, p. 375, *et seq.*

CHAPTER X.

THE ACCESSION OF NICHOLAS RECOGNISED BY THE COURTS OF EUROPE—NICHOLAS DECLARES WAR AGAINST PERSIA—PREPARATIONS OF THE SHAH—ABBAS MIRZA—PASKIEWITZ APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES—BATTLES BETWEEN THE RUSSIAN AND PERSIAN FORCES—THE SHAH SUES FOR PEACE—THE TERMS IMPOSED BY NICHOLAS—THEY ARE ACCEPTED BY THE SHAH—TREATIES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

ON the return of Nicholas to St. Petersburg, after the ceremony of his coronation, he was waited on by ambassadors extraordinary from all the courts of Europe, for the purpose of congratulating him on the celebration of that event. Among the number of these was the Duke of Wellington, the representative of His Britannic Majesty. During the interviews between him and Count Nesselrode, it became apparent that the youthful czar did not inherit the peaceful sentiments of his predecessor; but that his mighty hand was already beginning to draw the dark clouds of aggressive and unprincipled war, over the troubled horizon of the East.

In fact, no sooner was Nicholas firmly seated on his throne than he commenced one of the most

remarkable reigns recorded in history; one devoted entirely to two great objects. The first was the perfecting of all the details of despotic government in his own vast dominions; and the second was the aggrandisement of his power by diplomacy, and, where diplomacy failed, by all the horrors of unprovoked invasion and war. This unchanging policy began, as we shall narrate, in 1826, and was continued by Nicholas for thirty years without cessation, until the period of his death.

The new czar having returned to his capital, his first public official act was to declare war against Persia.

A man as sagacious as Nicholas could not be without specious pretexts for this unwarrantable act. Although a treaty then existed between the two nations, and nominal amity, there was no real confidence or good feeling. It will have been observed that, among the many representatives of various countries who were present at Moscow, at the coronation of Nicholas, there were none from Persia and Turkey.

The absence of this act of adulation on the part of the Shah was one ground for offence. The other was as follows. On the 26th of October, 1813, Alexander I. had concluded the treaty of Gulis-

tan with the Shah of Persia; one of the ambiguous conditions of which was, that either of the two contracting parties should have the right to enlarge its territorial possessions, according to circumstances, on condition that they indemnified the party injured.

By virtue of this singular stipulation, Nicholas proceeded to occupy the coast of Lake Goktcha; and he offered to Persia, by way of indemnification for this aggression, the territory which lies between the rivers Capunaktchay and the Tchudof. This exchange the Shah refused to accept, inasmuch as the one province was no equivalent for the other.

Receiving information that the Shah resisted this new arrangement, Nicholas declared war against him on the 28th of September, 1826. He immediately ordered immense bodies of troops to march toward the Persian territory, and hostilities began at once. The Khan of Talychyn attacked the Russian garrison of Erivan, took the place by storm, and massacred the troops. Abbas Mirza, the heir-apparent to the Persian throne, invaded the province of Elizabethpol with an army of fifty thousand regular troops. On his approach, the Mussulman tribes of the Caucasus, who hated the Russian yoke, rose and joined his standards.

A battle was fought between the vanguard of the Persian army, and the Russian forces under the command of General Madatof, on the 14th of December, in which the Persians were defeated, and the Russians took possession of the town of Elizabethpol. On the 21st of December, General Paskiewitz advanced with the main portion of the Russian army, and a great battle was fought between them and the Persian troops under Abbas Mirza, on the banks of the river Djeham. After a desperate conflict the Persians were again defeated, and they then repassed the Araxes.

General Paskiewitz was now appointed commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in Persia, in place of Yermoloff; and Benkendorf succeeded Madatof in the command of the vanguard. In April, 1827, another great battle was fought between the Persian army, commanded by Abbas Mirza, and the Russians under Paskiewitz; in which, notwithstanding the desperate valour of the Persians, and their superhuman exertions, they were again defeated by the superior discipline of the Russians, and by their more effective and powerful artillery. In this battle of Bulak, the Russians captured the celebrated "victorious standard" of Persia; and, in July, 1827, so completely had the skilful manœuvres of Paskiewitz hemmed in his

foe, that his troops surrendered at last as prisoners, though their commander escaped.

Other serious disasters followed on the side of the Persians. They besieged Etchmiadzin, but on the approach of Paskiewitz were compelled to raise the siege. Another Persian army, under Sardar Abbas, surrendered to the Russians after another signal defeat. On the 13th of October Erivan was occupied by the Russian army, after a siege of six days. On the 25th, the city of Tauris was compelled to capitulate, and soon after Abi-jar-kan fell into the hands of the triumphant invaders.

This remarkable series of prodigious successes compelled the Persians humbly to sue for terms of peace. It was hopeless and ruinous on their part, to continue the struggle against a power so superior as Russia was to Persia. It may readily be supposed, that the demands set forth by Nicholas, when he found his late foe a suppliant at his feet, were sufficiently exacting and rigorous.

He demanded, as the price of peace, that the provinces of Erivan and Nukchivan should be ceded to the Russian crown; and that Persia should pay twenty millions of silver roubles as an indemnification for the expenses of the war.

Hard as these conditions were, the Shah was compelled, after three months' delay, to accept them. On

the 22d of February, 1828, the treaty was signed at Turkmantchai. The provinces thus ceded to Russia, were large and valuable. They included the vast fortifications of Erivan and Nukehivan. The sacrifice made by Persia was immense; but necessity compelled her to submit to the iron hand of the conqueror. The abilities displayed by General Pas-kiewitz during this campaign, contributed essentially to the success of the Russian arms. He was splendidly rewarded for his services by the gratified emperor. He received a million of rubles in money, and the title of Prince of Erivan.

The spirit of unprincipled aggression which characterized the conduct of Nicholas during this war is seen from the following incident. In the province of Nukchivan, on the left bank of the Araxes, is the fortress of Abbasabad, constructed by a French engineer in the service of Abbas Mirza. Not content with the fortress, Nicholas demanded possession of an unfinished work intended for a *tête-du-pont* on the opposite bank; which he represented as a part of the fortress, although no bridge had yet been constructed across the river. The Persian plenipotentiary having ceded this unfinished work, the concession was made the ground of another demand still more unjust. It was contended that the *tête-du-pont* required an *esplanade*; and the segment of a

circle with a radius of two miles was demanded, and at length granted, for that purpose, on that bank of the river which remained in the possession of Persia.

By this treaty of Turkmantchai, Persia was bound to another ignominious stipulation; which was, that she was not to maintain any fleet on the Caspian; and that Russia was to possess the exclusive right henceforth to continue her navy in that sea. The treaty affirms that this prescriptive right Russia had possessed *ab antiquo*;—an antiquity which extended for the space of thirteen years back, until the treaty of Gulistan, in which, it is affirmed, that right of Russia had been first ambiguously asserted and recognised. Thus concluded the first war in which Nicholas was engaged,—one in which he had been signally triumphant, and had compelled the successor of the ancient Cyrus and Darius, to make the most ignominious concessions, and to endure the most ruinous exactions.

His relations to Persia being thus settled, Nicholas next turned his attention to the affairs of Turkey.

On the 4th of April, 1826, before his departure from St. Petersburg, the Duke of Wellington, in behalf of the king of England, signed with Count Nesselrode the first protocol in reference to the affairs of Greece; and that protocol eventually led to the consummation of two important treaties. The

one of these was the convention of Akerman, by which the sultan bound himself to the czar, to grant to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, all the rights promised them in the *hatti-sheriff* of 1802; to satisfy the private claims of Russian subjects on the Turkish government; to allow the most perfect liberty to Russian commerce in the Black Sea, and in the Mediterranean; and that Turkey should give up all pretension to the various forts conquered by the Russians beyond the Caucasus in the former war.

The other treaty made was between England, France, and Russia. By it the mediation of France and England was proposed between Russia and Turkey, and it was determined, that if within a month the sultan had not accepted this uncalled-for intervention, the three powers would at once take the affairs of Greece into their own hands, and establish the independence of that country of the rule of the sultan.

The sultan regarded the proclamation of that treaty as equivalent to a declaration of war; and he began immediately to repair the fortifications of Constantinople. A great naval battle was soon fought between the belligerents, at Navarino, in which England crushed the fleet of the sultan. In so doing, his Britannic majesty was only acting as the tool of Russia, and promoting the aggrandize-

ment of the czar; inasmuch as the destruction of the fleet of the sultan rendered Nicholas the undisputed master of the Black Sea. The English and French cabinets discovered the game which was so adroitly played by Nicholas, when, after the battle of Navarino, Nicholas proposed that the Russian armies should occupy Moldavia and Wallachia in the name of the three powers; and even march upon Constantinople and dictate terms of peace under the very walls of the Seraglio. To this interested proposition the two duped powers refused to accede. Then it was, that the crafty Nicholas boldly declared, that in the manner of executing the treaty of London between the three powers, Russia would consult her own interests and convenience; and would henceforth act independently of the advice and co-operation of her allies. So much faithlessness did Nicholas already display, in the execution of solemn treaties, even with Christian and friendly powers!

CHAPTER XI.

NICHOLAS DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE SULTAN—HE VISITS IN PERSON THE ARMY STATIONED ON THE PRUTH—ATTACK OF THE RUSSIANS ON SHUMLA—THEIR DEFEAT—THEY CAPTURE VARNA—MENCHIKOFF—CAMPAIGN OF 1829—ENERGY OF GENERAL DIEBITSCH—THE CAPTURE OF SILISTRIA BY THE RUSSIANS—THE MARCH ACROSS THE BALKAN MOUNTAINS—SIEGE OF ADRIANOPLE—SINGULAR IMBECILITY OF THE TURKISH GENERALS—MEMORABLE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE.

IN truth, Nicholas was only seeking for a plausible pretext to justify an unprovoked invasion of the territories of the sultan. He had already, at the period of his accession, formed certain ambitious purposes in reference to that country; and it was now time to commence the vast work of developing and accomplishing them.

On the 26th of August, 1828, war was declared by Nicholas against the sultan. As an excuse for so doing he asserted, in a manifesto published at the same time, that the Divan had stimulated the Circassians to revolt; that they had interfered with the commerce of Russia in the Black Sea; and that they had endeavoured to renew the difficulties between that country and Persia. That these reasons were

mere subterfuges, may readily be inferred, both from the previous and the subsequent conduct of the czar.

Immediately after the declaration of war,—the first war which was destined to take place between the czar and the sultan,—Nicholas determined to be present in person in the camp of the invading army. He repaired instantly from St. Petersburg to the army of one hundred thousand men, commanded by Field-Marshal Wittgenstein, which was stationed on the river Pruth, the dividing line between Russia and Turkey. On leaving St. Petersburg, the czar attended divine service in the temple of St. Peter and St. Paul, surrounded by the whole court; and fervent prayers were offered for the success of the arms of the young monarch, against the power of the haughty infidel, the foe, both of the throne and the religion of the empire.

On the 7th of May, the Russian army crossed the Pruth. Yassy and Buckharest, the capitals of Moldavia and Wallachia, were immediately occupied; and the two principalities placed under the military government of Count Pahlen. General Paskiewitz, about the same period, attacked and took the city of Kars, together with the fortress of Poti. These victories were followed up, on the 4th of September, by the capture of the city of Akhalzik.

The great army of the czar, under Wittgenstein, now numbering 150,000 men, continued to advance into the Turkish territory; and on the 8th of June, 1828, having crossed the Danube at Satunovo, near its mouth, it at once approached the city of Shumla. The situation of the fortifications of this city, placed on a high and precipitous range of rocky eminences, rendered their assault one of great difficulty. Their position seems as if intended by nature for an intrenched camp. The extent of the works is about 8000 paces, and they were defended by a very deep ditch. The Russians advanced to the attack with great confidence. The place is approachable only through marshes and ravines. The attack was commenced and continued by Wittgenstein with extraordinary fury; but he met with an unexpected degree of fortitude and resistance on the part of the Turks. The Russians, led on by Nicholas in person, were brought up repeatedly to the attack, but to no purpose. Meantime the besieging and blockading force began rapidly to dwindle away under the effect of sickness and exposure to the heat. During the months of July and August, 15,000 men fell victims to disease and the climate. On the 10th of September, hearing of the advance of the grand vizier with an army of 15,000 picked men for

the relief of Shumla, the Russians withdrew from that city.

They were more successful in their attack upon the city of Varna. Menchikoff had laid siege to this fortress with a large army on the 6th of August. But after the forces which had attempted the capture of Shumla were despatched to the assistance of the army of Menchikoff, the prospects and the valour of the besieged became at once utterly hopeless. Besides, the position of Varna was less favourable for defence, and the works were inferior in strength, to those of the latter fortress. But even then a successful resistance might probably have been made by the Turks, were it not for the fact, that the unaccountable apathy and want of energy which were displayed by the Turkish generals, afford satisfactory proof that treason and bribery had much to do with deciding the fortunes of the day. On the 11th of October, Jussuf Pasha, the commandant of Varna, surrendered to the Russian general; and with this successful event, on the side of the invaders, the campaign of 1828 terminated.

As soon as Varna was occupied by his victorious troops, Nicholas returned as a conqueror, crowned with laurels and trophies of triumph, to his exulting capital. His whole journey, from the seat of

war, seemed like a triumphal procession; and on his arrival at St. Petersburg, congratulations, festivals, and acclamations, long and rapturous, awaited him from the obsequious inhabitants, the court, and the diplomatic corps, who dwelt in that city.

The campaign of 1829 opened under unfavourable auspices for Russia; and yet it terminated, quite unaccountably, in one of the most fortunate treaties—the treaty of Adrianople—which had ever been consummated by Russia.

During the previous campaign, the czar having been present in the camp, the commanders of the Russian forces were placed under a most disagreeable restraint. They did not dare to refuse the utmost obedience to the suggestions of the sovereign; and yet, they often were convinced that those suggestions were unwise and imprudent. Thus the inconsiderate haste and urgency of the czar occasioned the loss of 1400 men, in attacking Omar Vrione on the heights of Kurtesse; although the general in command strongly remonstrated against the hazardous temerity of the attack.

No such disadvantage as this operated against the efficiency of the Russian generals in 1829; and as soon as spring opened, General Diebitsch displayed his usual energy, in the complete reorganization of the army. He was now at liberty to act

purely on strategic grounds. He found himself at the head of 68,000 men; but many of these troops were unfit for service, in consequence of the severe suffering which they had undergone during the preceding year. The greatest difficulties were presented in the commissariat department. Thousands of wagons were necessary for the service of the army, which were to be drawn by oxen. On the southern side of the Balkan Mountains, over which he must pass, it was necessary to provide camels from Asia, to transport the provisions.

But the unconquerable energy of General Diebitsch, who now held the supreme command, overcame every difficulty. On the side of the Turks the most unaccountable apathy and inactivity prevailed. They neglected to repair the works of Silistria,—damaged as they were by time, and by the various assaults which they had withstood in successive sieges. And yet the value of this fortress to the Turks was incalculable.

General Diebitsch arrived before Silistria on the 17th of May, and immediately commenced a vigorous assault upon the works. The Turks defended themselves with great bravery. The greatest defect on their side appears to have been, not want of fortitude or resolution in the soldiery, but want of skill and military talents in their commanders.

The place was finally taken by means of the vast mining and countermining, which were successfully conducted by the besiegers. The efforts of the Turks to resist the approaches of the Russians, displayed excessive want of skill in this department of military science. Their countermines either did not explode at all, or else they exploded at the wrong time and place, and accomplished no good. For six weeks, however, the Turks defended the mouldering ramparts of the place; and displayed on many occasions the old heroism and desperate valour of the Moslem warrior.

At length, however, the vigorous attacks of the besiegers, and the want of provisions in the garrison, overcame the resistance of the Turks; and, on the 30th of June, Silistria capitulated, and was invested by the Russian army, on condition that the garrison were to march out, in possession of their arms and ammunition.

Having obtained possession of Silistria, the next step on the part of the Russians, was the passage of the Balkan Mountains, which intercepted their route toward Adrianople and Constantinople. These ranges of mountains were spread over a vast extent of territory, and the march across them was several hundred miles in extent. The passes in the mountains were frequently deep gorges, which

might have been defended with great success by the Turks, had they been disposed to exert themselves to do so. But here again, the unaccountable apathy of the Turkish commanders, in not defending the passes of the Balkan, has given rise to the powerful suspicion, that the servants of the sultan had been bribed, by the gold of the invaders, to facilitate their advance.

Previous to entering on this memorable march, the Russians were compelled to meet the Turks in one great battle. This was the battle of Kosleftcha, fought on the 11th of July. On this occasion, Diebitsch met the Turkish forces, under the command of the grand vizier in person. It was the most furiously-contested conflict in the whole war. The Turks rushed to the attack with prodigious heroism and resolution. Their onslaught on the Russian lines displayed such ferocity, and determination to conquer or to die, as to have recalled to mind, the most renowned displays of Moslem valour in the most illustrious period of their annals. But after a conflict of some hours, the superior military skill of the Russian general again became apparent, and the troops of the grand vizier, becoming entangled in the woods which flanked their lines, became confused and unmanageable. The route soon became general, and the troops of the

Turks fled on all sides, leaving their camp, their ammunition, and the victory, in the hands of their opponents.

While these operations were going on, in the interior of the Russian territory, Diebitsch had ordered a naval force to sail for the purpose of securing a depôt on the Black Sea; where his troops, after having effected the passage of the Balkan range, might find temporary security and refreshment. For this purpose, Simboli, a port of the Black Sea, had been taken by a naval *coup-de-main*. It became a depôt for the accumulation of provisions and ammunition for the use of the Russian army, after their passage of the Balkan, and as such, its possession was one of the most fortunate and valuable events of the campaign.

The range of the Balkan Mountains had been regarded for four centuries, as the great bulwark of the Ottoman Empire, against the invasion of its northern foes. It was presumed that their vast extent, and the difficulties and perils which attended the passage of an army through their numerous, narrow, and dangerous gorges, when properly defended, formed a barrier and a defence, which would preclude the possibility of a successful attack from that quarter. The amazing apathy and ignorance of the Turkish commanders, Hussein Pasha, and

Redschid Pasha, on this occasion rendered this calculation fallacious. Diebitsch divided his forces into four divisions. The first, under General Krasewski, was left to watch Shumla, the only fortress still remaining in the possession of the Turks, north of the Balkan; the second, under General Roth, was ordered to pass along the road from Varna to Burgas; the third, under Rüdiger, was to cross the mountains from Pravadi to Aidos; and the fourth, under Count Pahlen, was to operate as a reserve to the two preceding divisions. On the 18th of July the passage began. The soldiers marched in linen trousers and in uniform, carrying in their knapsacks, a single shirt and a pair of trousers, together with provisions for ten days. All other baggage was left behind. The Russian commander-in-chief expected to meet a vigorous and perilous resistance to his passage over the mountains; but in this natural supposition he was disappointed. It is true that on several occasions, when the nature of the ground permitted, the Turkish troops were brought into battle against the invading army. Thus, the grand vizier attacked the division of General Rüdiger, when they approached Aidos; but the Turks soon fled with the utmost precipitation, and their tents, provisions, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Russians. Thus also, at Jamboli, a detachment

of one thousand Russians was attacked by a Turkish corps fifteen thousand strong; but instead of having been cut to pieces, as they expected, they successfully resisted their assailants, who eventually retired toward Adrianople.

At length, on the 19th of August, the Russian army, having succeeded in crossing the Balkan Mountains with infinitely less peril and losses than they had anticipated, were greeted with the sight of the four lofty minarets of the Sultan Selim's Mosque, which tower above the palaces and fortifications of Adrianople. They approached that city as conquerors, and their presence struck terror into the hearts of the pusillanimous and dismayed Moslems.

At the time the Russians appeared before the walls of this city, it contained about twenty thousand combatants; and detachments from various portions of the Turkish Empire were hastening to its assistance. So much reduced by the various casualties of war had the army of Diebitsch become, that, on arriving before Adrianople, and ascertaining that relief was rapidly approaching it, his first thought was a precipitate retreat. But before executing this purpose, he determined to try the effect of negotiation on the commandant of the fortifications. He was at once astounded at the manner in which his tenders were received. The

Turks, beholding the army of the invaders encamped in the plain around the city, after having successfully triumphed over the perils of the Balkan, were overcome with terror, and regarded the army of Diebitsch as an invincible force calculated to excite the utmost apprehensions. Thus, the Russian general, by carefully concealing his weakness; by hiding from view the fact that by sickness, and other losses, his army had at last been actually reduced to 20,000 effective men; by assuming the most arrogant tone of superiority; and by acting on the fears and the ignorance of the Turks, succeeded, to his own surprise, and to the astonishment of all who were acquainted with the real condition and relative strength of the parties, in negotiating the celebrated treaty of Adrianople, which terminated the war, and which won for Russia the most extraordinary and monstrous concessions from the representatives of the sultan.

By the treaty of Adrianople, Nicholas obtained every thing which he then thought it prudent to demand from the sultan. By it, he acquired Anapa and Poti, together with a very considerable extent of territory on the Black Sea. He obtained a portion of the pashalic of Akhilsha, together with the fortresses of Akhilsha and Akhilkillae, and the possession of the valuable islands which stud the mouth

of the Danube. He stipulated for the destruction of the Turkish fortress of Giurgievo; and the total abandonment by Turkey of the right bank of the St. George branch of the Danube, to the distance of several miles from the river. He attempted a virtual separation of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia from the sultan, by sanitary regulations which were intended to append them to Russia. He stipulated that the sultan should confirm the internal regulations for the government of those provinces, which Russia had established during the period of her military occupancy of them. He contracted for the removal of many thousand families of Armenians from the Turkish provinces of Asia; thus depopulating whole districts. He established for Russian subjects, residing in Turkey, an immunity from all responsibility to the authority of the sultan; and burdened the latter with a stupendous tribute, under the plea of indemnity for the expenses incurred by Russia in prosecuting the war.

The extraordinary terms of this treaty were dictated by General Diebitsch, under the immediate direction of the czar, at a time when his army amounted to but 20,000 effective men; when more than 30,000 combatants could have been mustered to the immediate defence of Adrianople; and when the communication of the invading army with its

depôt at Simboli, might at any moment have been cut off, by a little energy displayed on the part of the Turkish commanders. In fact, so isolated in the heart of a hostile country had Diebitsch and his army then become, that they might have even been totally annihilated, had the Turks not displayed the most groundless terror, and the most absurd cowardice. That even a short period of politic delay would have worked the ruin of the Russian forces, is evident from the following facts. During the campaign of 1829, before the arrival of the Russian army before Adrianople, their losses by sickness and death had already amounted to 60,000 men. Only one-seventh of the original army returned to St. Petersburg, to tell the wonderful story of their unexpected and undeserved success. From March to July, 1829, 28,000 deaths occurred among 81,000 troops; and of the 6000 sick men left by Diebitsch at Adrianople, after his retreat, 5200 died.

Yet with such facts before them, the Turkish plenipotentiaries at Adrianople concluded a treaty, which, under such peculiar circumstances, is without a parallel in history. From the terms of the treaty it will appear, what vast concessions Turkey made to the aggressive power and spirit of the czar. The sultan in effect granted, as the price of a dishonourable peace, whatever his rapacious foe

chose to demand. And with this conclusive evidence before him of the craven weakness of the sultan, and of his inability to contend with the encroachments of his northern rival, however unjust, it is not singular that Nicholas should have termed the sultan "the sick man;" and should have confidently looked forward to the day, as not being very far distant, when the triumphant and invincible eagle of Russia should supplant the waning crescent on the glittering minarets of St. Sophia's mosque; and the ancient and crumbling throne of the Constantines, become an appendage to the sceptre of the new-born majesty of the Czars.

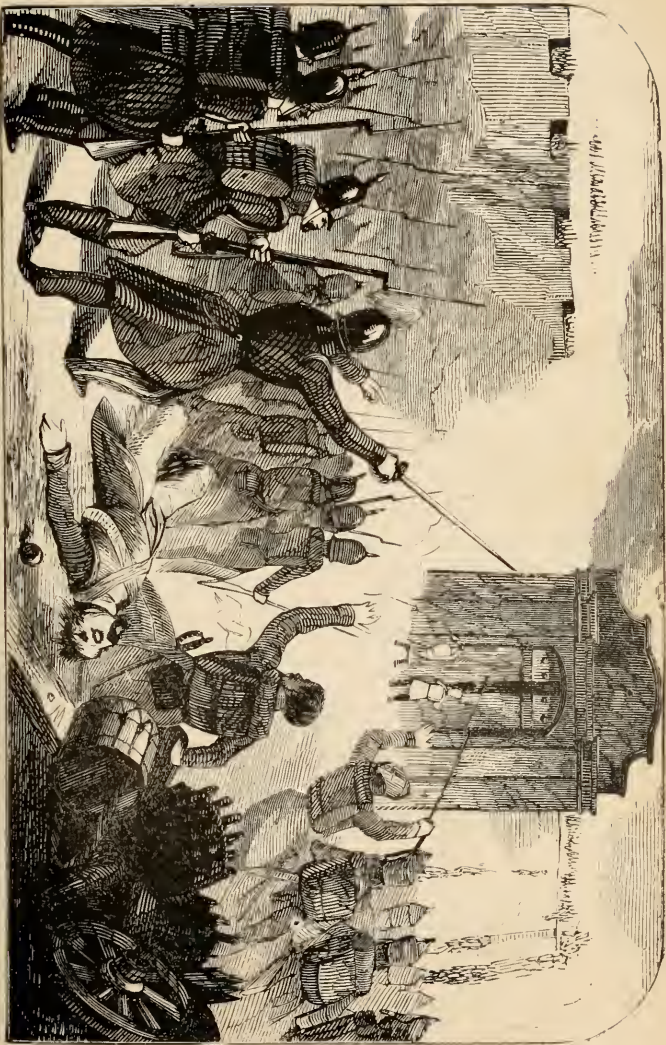
While these events were transpiring in Turkey, General Paskiewitz was adding new lustre to his reputation in Asia, and extending still wider the dominions of his master. On the 1st of July, that general attacked the city of Erzeroum, defended by Hagki Pasha, and took it by storm. He captured the person of that prince, together with thirty-one pieces of cannon, nineteen standards, and fifteen hundred prisoners. On the 5th of July he took Hassan-Khale, the key of Erzeroum, the capital of the province of Turkomania. These acquisitions served still more to consolidate the power of the czar in his Asiatic dominions.

CHAPTER XII.

NICHOLAS CROWNED AT WARSAW IN 1829—CRUELITIES OF THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE AT WARSAW—REVOLUTION BREAKS OUT AT WARSAW—MANIFESTO OF NICHOLAS—RADZIVIL—MANIFESTO OF THE POLES—RUSSIAN ARMIES ADVANCE TO WARSAW—MEMORABLE BATTLE NEAR WARSAW—IMMORTAL HEROISM OF THE POLES—VICTORY CLAIMED BY BOTH SIDES—CHLOPICKY—TERROR IN WARSAW—DESPAIR AND DEATH OF THE RUSSIAN GENERAL DIEBITSCH—MÁRSHAL PASKIEWITZ APPOINTED TO THE COMMAND—HE CAPTURES WARSAW, AND SUPPRESSES THE REVOLUTION.

THE proclamation of the treaty of Adrianople at St. Petersburg was the signal for extraordinary congratulations and festivities in that city, and throughout the Russian dominions. But the progress of events did not allow, at that moment, much leisure for the indulgence of these pleasing sequents of a triumphant peace.

In the latter part of 1829, Nicholas was crowned at Warsaw, and opened the Polish Diet in person. Nótwithstanding the cruel aggressions of Russia on the liberties of Poland, the Diet still retained some slight show of freedom and power; and the lingering possession of these had excited the bitter jealousy and hostility of the emperor. Accordingly,



The Storming of Warsaw by the Russians.



in an address which he delivered at the opening of the Diet, he gave utterance to some sentiments in reference to the greater restriction of the liberty of the press; the publication of the discussions of the Diet, which should be kept secret; and defending the cruelties which had been committed by the Grand Duke Constantine; all of which gave much offence to the members of the Diet.

Just at this dangerous crisis, news was received of the French revolution of 1830. The outrages committed by Constantine upon every rank, sex, and age of the unfortunate Poles, had driven their minds to desperation; and an insurrection broke forth at Warsaw immediately upon the reception of the report of the movement in the French capital, which resulted in elevating Louis Philippe—one of the most unprincipled of men—to the throne of the barricades. The Grand Duke Constantine was compelled to flee from his palace, and take refuge among his guards. The Polish hussars seized the arsenal. A provisional government was immediately formed, at the head of which was placed Prince Chartoriski. The command of the Polish army was intrusted to Chlopicki, who was also named Dictator. The Diet was then convoked for the 18th of December, 1830.

On the breaking out of this revolution, Nicholas,

who had returned to his capital immediately after his coronation at Warsaw, published a manifesto couched in the most haughty language. "The Poles," says he, "who after so many misfortunes were enjoying peace and prosperity under the shadow of our power, precipitate themselves anew into the abyss of revolution and calamity, are an assemblage of credulous beings, who, although already seized with terror at the thought of the chastisement which awaits them, dare to dream for a few moments of victory, and to propose conditions to us, their lawful sovereign." Query: Whence did the lawfulness of his sovereignty over Poland arise? Answer: From the lawless aggressions and unprincipled usurpations of Catherine II.; who, without the slightest shadow of right or title, invaded the land, and by the sheer force of greater military power, appropriated to herself the sovereignty of a people, over whom she had as much legal power, as she possessed over the inhabitants of the moon! And that title, and that alone, was the one inherited and possessed by Nicholas himself.

But by this bold insurrection the patriots of Poland had suddenly placed themselves in a position of desperate danger. The most enthusiastic of them could scarcely hope to succeed against the Colossus of the North, so recently triumphant over

the monarchs both of Persia and of Turkey. Nevertheless, having thrown themselves into the perilous breach, they resolved to acquit themselves as became the patriots and the heroes that they were. Prince Radzivil was appointed generalissimo of the Polish armies, and Chlopicki, who had resigned the dictatorship, assisted him in his duties.

In truth, a halo of undying glory clusters around this last great struggle of chivalrous Sarmatia, to recover her long-lost liberties; and to shake off from her breast the prodigious incubus of Russian tyranny which crushed her to the earth.* Suffering, as she had done for many generations, all the unspeakable evils of misgovernment, of foreign rule, and of unprincipled extortion; it was natural that an unquenchable spirit of revolt should agitate and inflame the bosoms of her patriotic children. Once more, therefore, the spirit of the immortal Kosciusko seemed to animate them; and the brave, and the fair, and the chivalrous Poles girded themselves again, for the last time, to the heroic task of triumphing over their hereditary tyrants; or of offering their lives and their fortunes, as a final sacrifice,

* The insurrection which broke out in the small republic of Cracow, the very title of which state was a satire upon free governments, was no exception to the above statement; as it was merely a local, and not a national movement. The present was the *last* Polish revolution.

upon the ruined altar of their country's liberties. The struggle was a short one, but it was desperate; yet it eventually resulted in the realization of the worst fears of those, who most sincerely loved the cause of Poland and of freedom.

On receiving the first information of this revolt, Nicholas became enraged beyond measure, and dictated the manifesto already referred to. To conquer the audacious Poles now became with him, no longer simply a matter of interest or of security;—it became a work of vengeance, and a source of that delicious rapture, of which triumphant tyrants alone are susceptible, when they succeed in crushing the inborn aspirations of all human souls, however long and however deeply they may have been enslaved—their eternal and unconquerable aspirations to be free! He immediately gave orders, in the beginning of February, 1831, for Field-Marshal Diebitsch, the recent victor of Silistria and Adrianople, to march upon Poland with an army of 120,000 veteran troops, and four hundred pieces of heavy artillery.

Immediately on the breaking out of hostilities, the Poles had published to the world a manifesto, in which they set forth their grievances as follows:—“The union of the crown of an autocrat, and of a constitutional king, is one of those politi-

cal anomalies which cannot long exist. Everybody foresaw that the kingdom would succumb under the iron hand of Russian despotism. Public instruction was corrupted; a system of obscurantism was organized; the people were shut out from all means of obtaining instruction; an entire palatinate was deprived of its representation in the council; the chambers lost the faculty of voting the budget; new taxes were imposed; new monopolies were created, calculated to dry up the sources of the national wealth; and the treasury became the prey of hirelings and spies. Personal liberty was violated; the prisons were crowded; court-martials were appointed to try civil cases; and respectable citizens suffered heavy penalties for trying to save the reputation of the nation from dishonour."

Such were some of the grievances under which the unfortunate Poles suffered, and which once more summoned them to arms. To oppose the vast forces sent to crush them under Diebitsch, they could at that time muster but 35,000 infantry of all arms, 10,000 cavalry, and 136 pieces of artillery. Some 15,000 additional troops were distributed in the garrisons of Prague, Modlin, and Lamosc.

The policy determined upon by the Russian

general was, if possible, to march directly upon Warsaw, in the expectation that the Poles, in order to protect their capital, would hazard a general engagement; and that, with their vastly increasing numbers, they would be defeated, and thus, by one prodigious blow, the campaign would be advantageously concluded for Russia. Accordingly, on the 22d of February, Marshal Diebitsch reached a position, having the banks of the Vistula on his left flank, and the Alder Forest on his right. In front of him were arrayed the entire Polish army, under Radzivil, waiting to contest his advance upon the capital. Skrzynecki commanded the centre of the Poles, supported by the regiment of the *Faucheurs*; who were a body of infantry armed with a dangerous and effective weapon peculiar to Poland, resembling a scythe-blade set straight in its handle. General Szembec commanded the right wing, which was in possession of the village of Grochow; and was protected by the marshes of the Vistula. On the left was posted General Zimirski, who occupied the outskirts of the Alder Forest.

At the early dawn, on the celebrated 25th of February, 1831, the hostile armies beheld each other drawn out in battle array. The occasion was one of memorable interest for the heroic Poles.

An army of 45,000 patriots stood in the stern presence of 100,000 veteran foes. Behind the Polish army lay their capital, breathless with suspense; and awaiting with mingled hope and terror the issue of the conflict. A single bridge conducted over the Vistula, from the battle-field to the capital; so that, in case of defeat, it would have been impossible for the vanquished Poles to escape by flight the fury of the victors. The fate of Poland hung upon that single battle; and victory was necessary to her very existence.

Immediately before the battle began, Radzivil, the commander-in-chief of the Polish army, summoned a council of war, in a log-cabin, in the centre of his lines. In contemplating the prodigious odds against which they were about to contend, the bravest of the Polish leaders quailed, and gave utterance to their apprehensions. Their country's fate then hung upon a single cast of the die, and the odds against them were three to one. Chlopicki, the most resolute of the Polish heroes, gave free vent to his emotions, and shed tears of rage. Meanwhile the loud booming of cannon on the extreme left of the Polish lines, gave evidence that the conflict had begun, and summoned the generals to their respective posts.

By nine o'clock in the morning the battle raged

along the whole line of the combatants. General Diebitsch in person led on his right wing; and made prodigious exertions to get possession of the Alder Forest, as the key to the main position of the Poles at Grochow. General Zimirski and his division, who opposed Diebitsch, fought with desperate heroism, and contended inch by inch for the preservation of his position. Again and again he repulsed the advancing foe; and his heroic warriors effected prodigious onslaughts upon the serried ranks of the Russians. The latter recoiled, but were again led forward to the attack by General Diebitsch in person. The Poles still spread carnage and death among their assailants; and dauntless heroes seemed to rise, and fight, and perish, for Sarmatian freedom, at every point. But at the very moment when the victory hung undecided over the contending hosts, General Zimirski received a mortal wound, and was carried from the field. His fall spread terror and confusion among his troops, and, after a short conflict, Diebitsch succeeded in making himself master of the forest; he planted his artillery on its outskirts; and immediately directed its murderous fire upon the second line of the Poles, commanded by General Skrzynecki.

Radzivil sent orders to the latter general to repulse the Russians, and retake the forest. Chlopicki

marched to the assistance of Skrzynecki and his division. The united onslaught of these warriors against the position of the Russians in the forest was terrific; and after a short struggle, the Russians began on every side to give way. This was the decisive crisis of the battle. A furious charge of cavalry at that moment, would have decided its fate in favour of the Poles. Chlopicki sent word to General Lubienski, beseeching him to advance with his troops; but, through jealousy, he refused to obey. Chlopicki, on receiving word of this refusal, became frenzied with desperation, and, exclaiming, "I will seek only for death!" dashed forward into the midst of the enemy. His horse was immediately shot under him, and he himself was dangerously wounded. With difficulty his body was recovered, and carried from the field. The battle still raged fiercely along the whole line, and its issue remained as uncertain as at its commencement.

Determined to bring the conflict, if possible, to a conclusion, General Diebitsch, about noon, ordered up all his reserves, and renewed his attack upon the Polish lines. Forty additional pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon them; and they were mowed down with terrific onslaught, as they stood. At length, after suffering a prodi-

gious slaughter, Skrzynecki fell back, and abandoned his position in the forest. Diebitsch brought up, at this moment, 15,000 reserved cavalry, who charged upon the retreating lines; together with fifty-eight pieces of flying artillery. But again the Polish heroes formed, with admirable order, in close ranks, and met the attack with unconquerable heroism. The impetuous charge of the Russian hussars and hulans, failed to break their defiant front,—except that one battalion of new recruits, gave way beneath the fury of the attack, and fled over the Vistula, carrying terror into Warsaw. Toward night, Malachowski set fire to the houses of Praga, and the horrors of conflagration were added to the terrors of the battlefield.

At length, night settled down over the ensanguined plain, now thickly strewed with the dying and the dead; and the cannonading gradually ceased on both sides. Notwithstanding the vast odds against which the Polish heroes fought, the battle was a drawn one, and victory remained with neither party. Such was the celebrated battle of Grochow; in which, during a whole day, the ancient and glorious heroism of the Poles was exerted, in innumerable instances, to win back again to their fallen country, her lost eminence

among the nations of the earth. Five thousand wounded and slain of the Polish army, and nine thousand on the part of the Russians, attested the terrific fury of the conflict. At night, General Diebitsch retired from the field, into the Forest of Alder; and General Radzivil recrossed the Vistula, and entered the gates of Warsaw, with his heroic and unconquered troops.

A cessation of arms for a month took place between the exhausted armies; and again, on the 1st of April, another battle between the Russian army under Diebitsch, and the Polish under Śkrzynecki, who had succeeded Radzivil in the supreme command, took place at the village of Dembewilkie. After a fierce conflict the Russians abandoned the field, with the loss of two thousand killed, twelve pieces of cannon, and six thousand prisoners. The Poles lost but three hundred men. The next day Lubienski continued the pursuit, and five thousand more of the fugitives were captured. The battle of Iganie soon followed, at which the Russians lost 2500 prisoners, and, in consequence of the singular incapacity displayed by Diebitsch, met a signal and disgraceful defeat. The spirit of Poland seemed to have arisen and to have become invincible once more.

At Ostrolenka, on the 25th of May, another great

battle was fought between the contending hosts. At nine o'clock in the morning, the Russian army took its position in the plain before that town, spreading out like a fan and flanked by clouds of flying Cossacks. The usual disproportion of troops existed between the combatants. The Poles numbered 45,000, the Russians 80,000. After another of the most sanguinary conflicts recorded in history, the victory was claimed by both sides; although the Poles remained masters of the field. They had lost 7000 killed and wounded; the loss on the side of the Russians was 10,000.

This was the last battle in which the celebrated Russian General Diebitsch fought. The failures which attended his later movements in Poland indicate an unaccountable weakness, strangely inconsistent with the energy and sagacity which characterized his conduct in Turkey. It is even supposed, that by jealous rivals in the Russian service, he had been so drugged, that his intellect was affected, and his powers impaired. At any rate, after the battle of Ostrolenka, General Diebitsch shut himself up in his camp at Poltusk, and sank into a profound and painful melancholy. He was conscious that he had lost the favour of the stern czar, and he drowned his chagrin in constant intoxication. He died on the 11th of June, suddenly; and his death being soon

followed by that of the Grand Duke Constantine, both were ascribed to poison, administered by Count Orloff, the most confidential and trusted friend of Nicholas.

Diebitsch was succeeded by Field-Marshal Paskiewitch, the conqueror of Persia, in the chief command of the Russian army. After some minor movements, the particulars of which we will not narrate, the field-marshal determined to commence a grand assault on Warsaw, on the 6th of September, 1831. His army had just been increased by a new levy of 30,000 men, under the command of General Kreutz; which force, in addition to the troops already under his command, made the Russian army number 120,000, together with 386 cannon. The army of the Poles, adding new recruits of all kinds, amounted to 80,000, with 144 cannon; but at the period of its attack there were in Warsaw but 35,000 troops, and 136 pieces of artillery. The defences of the city extended over an area of fifteen miles. It would have required an army three times as numerous as that then in the capital, properly to man such immense works.

At daybreak, on the 6th, the Russians commenced a furious attack on the fortifications with two hundred pieces of artillery. Before beginning this celebrated assault, Paskiewitch distributed abun-

dant rations of brandy to his troops, so that they approached the works, under a state of intoxication. The Russians first drove in the defenders of the suburb of Wola; and planting a hundred pieces of artillery there, attacked the second line of the Poles. The assault now became general. Three hundred and fifty pieces of artillery thundered together. Malachowski, the generalissimo of the Poles, displayed prodigies of skill and valour. Thrice the Russian troops in immense masses were brought up to the attack of the second line; and thrice the Poles heroically repulsed the frantic and drunken soldiers of the czar. In this defence were first displayed the splendid talents of General Bem, for artillery service,—an officer afterward illustrious in the annals of the Hungarian revolution. During this furious charge, General Romanski, a Polish general of ability, was slain.

The fierce conflict continued far into the night. The Russians, with their immensely superior force, continually pressed forward; and the heroic defenders of the ancient battlements of Warsaw, were compelled slowly to recede. Various portions of the city were now on fire. The battlements of Warsaw were surrounded by a lurid and living belt of flame, and still the combat continued with unabated fury. At length, having brought all their artillery to bear

upon the works simultaneously, a last grand assault was made; and Warsaw, which had witnessed so many immortal deeds of heroism, in defence of her liberties, in successive revolutions, then fell beneath the power of the great despot; and has never since arisen from her chains of ignominy and bondage. On the 7th of September, 1831, the city capitulated; the Russian army was quartered among her stately palaces; and abject slaves thenceforth occupied the works which had been defended by heroes, so often and so well.

CHAPTER XIII.

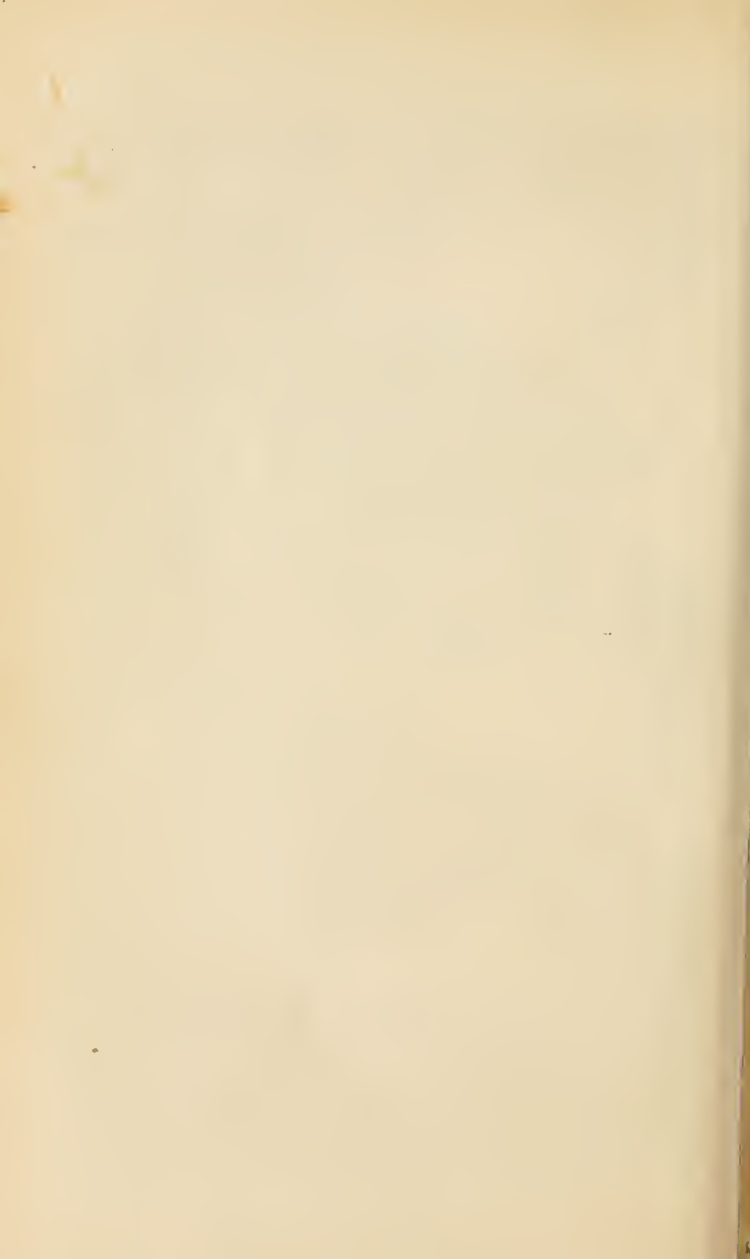
TERRIBLE VENGEANCE OF NICHOLAS I. ON THE POLES—CRUELITIES PERPETRATED IN PODOLIA—IN WARSAW—JEWS OF POLAND—HOSTILITY AND CONTEMPT OF NICHOLAS TOWARD THE POLISH JEWS—HISTORY OF THE UNITED GREEK CHURCH IN POLAND—HORRIBLE CRUELITIES INFLICTED BY NICHOLAS ON THE NUNS OF MINSK—DIFFERENT OPINIONS ON THE SUBJECT.

THEN was tendered to Nicholas I. that exquisite banquet of revenge, which an ancient sage declared to be worthy of the gods! The penalties inflicted on the unhappy Poles by the czar, after the suppression of this revolution, need no colouring from fancy to add romantic and startling horrors to the scene. The sober reality is amply sufficient; and were it not so, impartial history disdains to invoke the aid of imagination, in order to paint a more effective picture.

Nicholas immediately addressed himself to the agreeable task of inflicting those "chastisements" to which he had significantly referred in his manifesto of the 24th of December previous. First, by a ukase, he formally annexed Poland to Russia, as one of its provinces, to become incorporated into it.



Sufferings of the Nuns of Minsk.



In Podolia, one of the departments of Poland, five hundred families composed of twenty thousand persons were transported, merely as *suspected* persons, to the frontiers of the Caucasus, in uncultivated and unhealthy lands, and in constant danger from the attacks of the enemies of Russia in those mountains. The minister of the interior, under the special orders of Nicholas, commanded that only those among the suspected nobles should be sent to the Caucasus, who were able-bodied and could work. Their children, their wives, and the aged and infirm, were all to be left behind. Thus many families were separated, in defiance of every instinct of humanity and justice. Those of the suspected nobles who were not sent to the Caucasus, Nicholas commanded should be enrolled among the Cossacks of the Don.

In 1832, Nicholas undertook the entire transformation of society and government in Poland. He abolished the ancient Polish division of the country into palatinates, and substituted the Russian division into governments. He altered the system of measures and weights, from the old Polish, to that in use in Russia. He changed the calendar from the Gregorian,—which prevails throughout Christendom,—and introduced the Julian, which is still used in Russia. He attempted

to efface the Polish language from the memory of his unhappy subjects; forbidding it to be used in the courts of justice, in the schools, and in public, and substituting the Russian everywhere.

In March, 1832, Nicholas ordered all the poor and orphan male children of Warsaw, from seven to sixteen years of age, to be transplanted from their native place into different places of exile. Some of these poor children were not orphans; and the misery of the impoverished wretches, when torn away from their relations, is described as having been heart-rending. By this means, many of the parish schools of Warsaw were entirely emptied. Many perished like insects on their long and cheerless journey. Their little bodies were frequently found unburied along the roadside by the country-people in strange lands.

The Jews of Poland suffered a large share of the vengeance of Nicholas. Many of these made their living by smuggling, and by second-hand dealing. An order was issued to transport this whole class to the Caucasus. Old men, women, and children, all departed, surrounded by hordes of savage Cossacks. Many perished by the way; and the husband was hurried away from the side of his expiring wife, nor permitted to receive her last sigh. Arrived at the place of their destination, a conscription of their

children immediately took place. All those six years of age were forcibly carried off, either into the naval or military service; and nearly all died, for the Jew cannot exist as a soldier.

The special enmity of the czar toward the Jewish race is illustrated by the following incident:—Once on his passage through Riga to Warsaw, the Jews of Riga embraced the opportunity to present him a petition. He was just embarking in a boat on the Dwina River, to visit Mindare. Nicholas declined to receive the petition. The Jews in despair exclaimed, “Where are we to go?” In reply the czar merely pointed to the water with his finger, as if he would have said, “Go and drown yourselves;” at the same time ordering the boatmen immediately to row off!

After the suppression of the insurrection, those chiefs and generals who had not succeeded in escaping from Poland to Switzerland, and to other foreign countries, were condemned and executed. Others, who took less prominence in the revolt, were confined as prisoners of state, for life. Vast numbers of the unfortunate soldiery were sent as exiles to Siberia; to spend the remainder of their existence in its gloomy mines, without the remotest prospect of ever beholding their country or their kindred again.

We will not describe in detail the innumerable acts of severity and ferocity perpetrated by the orders, or with the approval, of Nicholas, on the fallen and unfortunate Poles. We will narrate but one more instance, which has become too notorious to justify our silence.

In the sixteenth century, a schism had taken place among the members of the Orthodox Greek Church in Poland. They renounced the supremacy of the Russian Patriarch, and placed themselves under the protection of the Pope of Rome. They were called the "*United Greek Church*," from their union with the Latin or Roman Church. This schism was always regarded by the czars as the hotbed of political, as well as of religious, rebellion; and the members of the United Greek Church, who had, in the progress of time, become very numerous in Lithuania and Modern Poland, always were regarded by the Russian monarch with a jealous eye.

The last revolution obtained many of its most zealous partisans among this body; and after its suppression, excessively severe measures were adopted, to compel them to renounce their religious and political principles, and become obedient members of the Orthodox Russian Church. In a great measure, by promises, by threats, and

by actual severities, the emissaries of the czar succeeded in accomplishing their purposes. In 1839, the whole episcopal body of the disunionists signed their recantation, and formally united with the Greek Church. But this was the result of many years of persecution and suffering. In 1833, the most determined resistance which the propagandists of Nicholas encountered, was in the convent of Basilian nuns at Minsk; whose abbess, Makrena, was a woman of great piety and resolution, and resisted to the last all the threats and seductive promises, which could be brought to bear upon her and her associates. They still persisted in their union with the Church of Rome; in denying the jurisdiction of the Russian Patriarch; and in denouncing the tyranny of the czar over their unhappy country.

Nicholas, at last, determined on adopting the most extreme measures, and a series of cruelties were commenced on these nuns, at the recital of which the heart sickens. Their convent at Minsk was surrounded by Russian troops, the gates were burst open, and the soldiers rushed into the convent. Uszakof, the governor of the province, assembling the terrified nuns, offered them, either to choose the orthodox religion, with honours and the imperial protection, or exile in Siberia. The nuns

refused the former, and were ordered instantly to prepare for their departure. Thirty-five in number, they knelt, for the last time, in their chapel to pray; and when they rose up, one of them (Leusheka) had expired from excessive terror and grief. They were then handcuffed, and marched on foot for some days, until they reached Witebsk. There they were first placed in the Convent of the Black Nuns, composed principally of the widows of Russian soldiers. During ten years, they remained among those coarse and cruel women, suffering every species of outrage, and wearing, during this whole period, iron chains upon their feet.

They were first compelled to perform all the low, menial services in the convent. They were compelled—from six in the morning till six at night, with one hour's interval at noon—to break stones, and carry them from the quarries in wheelbarrows. They were starving for want of sufficient food. Seeing that these severities did not work their conversion, they were then flogged twice a week, receiving fifty lashes each time. Their flesh sometimes hung in strips from their bodies. After one of these beatings, a nun named Columba Yorska, expired. Another was killed by a blow with a billet of wood on the head, by the Abbess of the Black Nuns, because she disobeyed her

orders. Another nun, Susanna Rypinska, was flogged to death; and another had her ribs broken, by the brutal severity of their persecutors.

These sufferings still failed to overcome the constancy of these unhappy nuns, and yet further barbarities were devised. They were maimed, cut, bruised, and wounded, in divers ways. At the chapel door the abbess of the persecuted nuns, Makrena, seeing a hatchet lying on the ground, seized it, and offered it to the Greek bishop, who was present, saying: "You are our shepherd, become our executioner also." His reply was a blow of his fist, with which he knocked out one of the teeth of the abbess. By the year 1840, these, and innumerable other barbarities, had diminished the number of these unfortunate beings to fifteen. Three of them had died in eight days. Two of them had gone mad,—who were then chained to their wheelbarrows, and still compelled to work. All their heads and necks were covered with tumours; their hands were swollen, and bleeding; their bodies became one mass of open wounds and festering sores. Another flogging took place, after which two of the nuns expired. In 1844, the abbess and three nuns succeeded in making their escape from the convent; and, after incredible hardships, succeeded in reaching Posen. There, on the

14th of August, the deposition of the abbess under oath was taken before several judges of the local court. It was countersigned by the Archbishop of Posen; and the genuineness and authenticity of the statement has never been controverted. Count Djalynska, a Polish nobleman, in a published statement, certifies, that he entertained the escaped nuns at his chateau at Kornik; and that he then saw on the head of the Abbess Makrena a large depression, covered over with newly-formed skin, an inch broad and the fourth of an inch in depth, as one of the evidences of the severities which had been inflicted upon her. The abbess at length succeeded in reaching Rome, and became the guest of the Convent of the Santa Trinita. A narrative of her sufferings, and those of her associates, was afterward given to the world, and excited the astonishment and indignation of Europe.

The question arises, were these statements true? and were barbarities such as these inflicted in the nineteenth century, and in a Christian country? The answer is, that the Russian government has never succeeded in disproving them, though many corroborative evidences have been furnished by those who took sides with the persecuted abbess. Another inquiry which suggests itself is, if the infliction of these barbarities be admitted, were they

perpetrated with the knowledge and under the orders of the czar? The answer to this question would seem undoubtedly to be, that they were; because in Russia, so absolute was the jurisdiction of the czar; so obsequious were his servants to obey him in every thing, and never to act except under his express orders; so universal is the presence of the police; and so complete is the information which is conveyed to the central government, of every thing which occurs throughout the whole empire, that it is absurd to suppose that such extraordinary events should have been transpiring in Russia proper, during a period of ten years, and yet the czar remain in ignorance of them, or not have become perfectly familiar with their most minute details. Nevertheless, there is one fact in existence which justice requires that we should mention; and which may seem to be an argument in favour of the falsity, or at least of the exaggeration, of the current accounts which exist in reference to the treatment of the nuns of Minsk. In 1845, the Emperor Nicholas visited Rome, in connection with other European capitals. The Abbess Makrena was resident in that city at that time. Her narrative of the sufferings which she and her associates had endured, had become well known throughout Europe. She had even made special statements

on the subject to the Pope. If, therefore, his Holiness gave full credence to these reports, it is probable that he would have received the czar with coldness, perhaps with rudeness and incivility; yet, when the czar arrived at Rome, the Pope sent a deputation of cardinals to receive him; and during the period of his sojourn in the Eternal City, extended to him, to the fullest extent, the evidences of his utmost regard and consideration. Was this done because the Pope did not believe the reports which had startled all Europe? Or was he governed in his conduct by a spirit of policy and subserviency, which induced, or compelled, him to overlook the most brutal acts of despotic barbarity, heard of in modern times?

CHAPTER XIV.

LITERATURE OF RUSSIA—THE FOUR GREAT LITERARY NAMES OF RUSSIA—SKETCH OF THE GREATEST OF THEM, KARAMSHIN—MORE RECENT EMINENT MEN OF LETTERS—NICHOLAS PATRONIZES THE DIPLOMATIC, ENGINEERING, AND MILITARY SCHOOLS—LANGUAGE OF RUSSIA—INDIFFERENCE OF NICHOLAS TO SCIENCES, AND BRANCHES OF LEARNING, WHICH WERE USELESS IN WAR.

It is with pleasure that we turn away from these continual though necessary details of persecution, of conquest, and of aggression, to seek in the history of this great czar something which appertains to the nobler arts of peace; and which refers to the advancement of education, science, and literature, among his subjects.

But it must be confessed, that the materials which the career of Nicholas furnishes, for narratives of this description, are meagre in the extreme; and that even the patronage which he did afford to institutions and men of learning, was clouded over with war's grim and gloomy visage, and was intended only to prepare them for more effective service, in its bloody and disastrous scenes.

Only four great names exist in Russian literature.

These are Lomonosoff, Schukowski, Pouschkin, and Karamsin. The first of these was celebrated as a classical scholar. He flourished in the sixteenth century, and translated into the Russ language the works of Homer, Plato, Horace, and Ovid. Until then, the very names of these classic writers were unknown to the Muscovites. Schukowski was an imitator of the German style of literature; and his works abound in vast masses of unwieldy literary lumber. Pouschkin is the most eminent poet of Russia. He was a man of original, vigorous, and impassioned poetic fire, and has been compared, by the most discerning critics, to Byron. But the name which is most widely and eminently known in Russian literature, is that of Karamsin the historian.

Nicholas von Karamsin was born on the 13th of December, 1765, in the government of Vimbersk. In his youth he was educated at the University of Moscow, where he received the particular instructions of John Schnaden, the celebrated professor of philosophy at that university. On leaving the university, Karamsin entered the imperial Garde du Corps; and in the years 1789 to 1791 he travelled through the various countries of Europe, and enlarged his mind by a familiarity with the laws, society, and government, of the European states.

His first work contained the fruits of his observations abroad, and was published in four volumes, under the title, "Letters of a Russian Traveller." From 1792 to 1803, Karamsin resided at Moscow, engaged in various literary works. The Emperor Alexander then appointed him to the high and honourable post of Historiographer of the Russian Empire. In 1816 he removed to St. Petersburg, and the same year were published the first eight volumes of his celebrated History of the Russian Empire. For this performance he was rewarded with the rank of Honorary Counsellor of State, with the Order of St. Anne of the first class. In 1821 the ninth volume of this work appeared, and in 1823 the tenth and eleventh volumes. In 1824 he was promoted to the dignity of Actual Counsellor of State. In 1825 he wrote the celebrated manifesto which Nicholas I. published on his accession to the throne.* In the year 1826 he completed the twelfth volume of his history, which brought his narrative of events down to the reign of Michael, the grandfather of Peter the Great, and the founder of the illustrious dynasty of the Romanoffs. In 1826 he died, without having been able to complete his great work. He was carried off by a pul-

* See *Schnitzler's Diplom. History of Alexander I. and Nicholas* London, 1848.

monary disease; but it was remarked that he never recovered from the shock which he received on the death of the Emperor Alexander I.

Karamsin was honoured by the friendship and esteem of the most illustrious men in Russia, and especially by that of the two sovereigns, Alexander and Nicholas. He expired in the Tauric Palace, attended by the tenderest care of the young czar. The latter had ordered the frigate *Helena*, only two days previous to his death, to be in readiness to convey Karamsin and his family to the more genial clime of Italy. He was buried with extraordinary honours in the churchyard of the great Convent of St. Alexander Newsky, on the 6th of June. His funeral was attended by the emperor, by the most distinguished officers of state, and by a vast concourse of the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, among whom he was respected and revered. Nicholas had displayed his munificence by bestowing upon him an annuity of 50,000 rubles for his lifetime; which sum, after his death, was generously continued during the lives of all the members of his family.

For several years Karamsin had been the editor of the *European Mercury*, and at other times, of the leading Russian journals in the department of *belles-lettres*. The following are his most celebrated literary productions. Five volumes of poems en-

titled, Aglaja and Aonides; Letters of a Russian Traveller, in four volumes; The Pantheon of Foreign Literature; The Pantheon of National Literature; a historical novel entitled Possadniza, or the Subjugation of Novogorod; a selection of Lyrical Poems; Historical Fragments and Miscellanies. As a poet, he was a writer of genius and power. His chief merit, however, is as an historian. As an annalist, he is thorough, clear, impartial, and writes with elegance and accuracy, and has the faculty of investing the dryest themes with attractive interest.

The more recent developments in Russian literature, though they have not produced any great names, have nevertheless brought into existence a few writers whose labours have thrown some lustre on the Russian name. Kamakoff has, during the reign of Nicholas, written several tragedies and lyrical compositions which are original in their character, and display considerable dramatic power. Kryloff has produced fables which compare favourably with those of Lafontaine and Phædrus. Gogol was the author of satires which possess a degree of wit which places him nearly beside Swift and Addison. Of poets of a recent date Russia may boast; for she can enumerate the names of Wiasemski, Madam Pauloff, and the Countess Rostopchin; to

gether with the eccentric but gifted Lermontoff, who was killed in an unfortunate duel in Circassia. Of novelists, there are Mouranieff, Sagoschkin, and Batuschkoff. Balgurin is celebrated as a journalist. Nicholas Gertsch has rendered brilliant services in the cause of the national language, by publishing numerous editions of his Russian grammar, the best which has yet appeared.

Nicholas established, at an early period of his reign, a rigid censorship of the press; and this measure has had the effect of retarding, in a very great degree, the free development of the intellectual resources of the nation. The consequence is, a greater degree of ignorance among the priesthood, and a lower grade of literary attainment among the teachers of the schools. Among the higher clergy, a man of extensive learning is an occasional phenomenon, due more to the influence of German theological erudition, which sometimes succeeds in permeating the ranks of the ecclesiastics, than to the genius of Russian literature.

On the other hand, all the patronage and assistance which Nicholas extended to learning, in his dominions, were principally confined to the diplomatic schools, and those of topographical surveys. These he patronized with the partial affection of a

father, inasmuch as its members would be made directly serviceable to the interests of the government. As an example of the patronage which Nicholas bestowed upon the other and more elevated departments of letters, it may be mentioned, that Lomonosoff and Pouschkin, two poets of high distinction, were banished by him, to serve as privates in the army in Circassia, for writing too freely on politics; and that Bestucheff expiated with his life, his rashness in supporting the conspiracy of 1825, in favour of a liberal constitution for Russia.

The language of Russia is represented as being admirably adapted as a vehicle for the development of a rich and valuable literature, were it not that, the best aspirations of native genius are all crushed by the iron hand of a jealous despotism. The language is described as being at once fluent and concise, pliable and vigorous, tender and stern; as redundant in imagery, laconic in axiom, graceful in courtesy, strong in argument, soothing in feeling, and tremendous in denunciation. The latent energies of the language furnish an evidence of what its literature might have become, under more genial and propitious auspices. Karamsin has done more than any other writer to develop the resources of

the language, and to give it an established form and consistency.*

In St. Petersburg, the two most liberally-endowed institutions devoted to instruction, are the Mining and the Forest Schools, which are in Russia denominated *corps*. They are located in large and splendid palaces; and as their purpose is directly intended to promote the interests of the government, both in war and in peace, they received the special attention of Nicholas. The interests of the state are the main object constantly kept in view in these schools. The system of education pursued, is precisely similar to that of the Polytechnic School of Paris. It is entirely military. As soon as the scholars leave these institutions, they are provided with situations under the government. Nicholas frequently visited these pet institutions in person. He occasionally arose from his bed at midnight; and entering a one-horse droschki, made a solitary

* Dobrowsky divides the Slavonic dialects into two classes:—

A. The south-eastern.

1. The Russian ecclesiastical language, or the old Slavonic; 2. The Russian; 3. The Serbish, (Illyrian;) 4. The Croatish; 5. The Wendish, spoken in Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia.

B. The north-western.

1. The Slovak; 2. The Bohemian; 3. The Wendish, in Upper Lusatia; 4. The Wendish, in Lower Lusatia; 5. The Polish, with the Silesian dialect.

tour of inspection to these schools. On entering the sleeping apartments, his first glance, true as ever to physical interests, was at the thermometer. If it did not range precisely at the prescribed figure of fourteen degrees, he punished the neglect of the official with severity. He then examined the beds, pulled off the bedclothes, scrutinized the linen; and sometimes when pleased, and in a good humour, he challenged the children to wrestle with him; and it was not an uncommon sight, to behold half a dozen lads clinging convulsively around the tall form of the czar, and attempting their utmost to throw the ruler of sixty-five millions of people upon the floor.*

It is a circumstance worthy of note, that during the long reign of Nicholas, which extended for thirty years, while vast accessions were constantly made, to the territories of his empire; while his renown as a statesman and as a warrior became more and more exalted, and the physical forces of his vast realms became more and more effectively developed; and while his subjects beheld the example of other and surrounding nations, who were achieving great and honourable advances in the pathway of science

* *Pictures of St. Petersburg, by Jerrman, p. 53.*

and literature; the Russian nation accomplished very little in the same direction. Those many millions of rational intellects, with comparatively few exceptions, during those thirty years, either remained dormant in the ignoble sleep of ignorance; or else confined their energies to the attainment only of physical ends and advantages, regardless of the nobler wants and necessities of the immortal mind.

CHAPTER XV.

PERSONAL QUALITIES OF NICHOLAS—HIS PHYSICAL APPEARANCE—HIS MENTAL QUALITIES—HIS CLAIMS TO BEING A GREAT MAN—HIS DESPOTIC SPIRIT—HIS CRUELITIES—THE OWNER OF TWENTY MILLIONS OF SERFS—FAVOURABLE FEATURES OF HIS CHARACTER—HIS INTREPIDITY—HIS QUALITIES AS A HUSBAND AND FATHER—HIS AMOROUS INTRIGUES.

NICHOLAS I. was so remarkable a personage both in regard to his individual qualities, and with reference to his exalted station, and his historical consequence, that a close and accurate examination of his attributes and characteristics, is both a pleasing and an instructive study.

Let us then boldly enter the audience chamber of the great czar. Let us approach to the foot of the august throne on which he sits. Let us elevate our eyes to the colossus who occupies it; and then boldly and even impertinently scrutinize the man, and the monarch, before whose power so many millions, in so many climes, have quailed and trembled.

And first, in regard to his physical appearance, it is certainly true, that if ever a human being seemed intended for a monarch, by the possession of exterior

advantages of a majestic figure, and high and kingly bearing, it was the Czar Nicholas. His person was six feet three inches in height. It was moulded in nature's finest proportions. He was beyond question the handsomest man in his court or empire. His features were regular, dignified, and pleasing, with but one exception. His eye was the eye of a despot. It seemed to scan with cold, penetrating, unsympathizing severity, every one who came beneath his observation. He delighted to witness its effects upon his courtiers, and to see the proudest, the bravest, and the most illustrious, recoil from his glance, and cover before him. Sufficiently appreciating, as he did, his superior physical advantages, he took considerable pains to set them forth with the greatest effect. He was very attentive to his dress; usually wore the stiff though brilliant uniform of a general officer; and was in the habit of carrying the custom of tight-lacing so prevalent in the Russian army, to such an immoderate extent, that it seriously injured his health. Though possessing great breadth of shoulder, he must needs also sport a wasp-like waist; and to accomplish this end, he endured a degree of tight-lacing, from which a Parisian *lorette* might, and probably would, have resolutely rebelled! It is said, that he often fainted, after having ungirthed himself; and it is

supposed that this pernicious habit contributed very materially to shorten his life.

The features of Nicholas were strictly Grecian. His forehead and nose were in one continuous line. His mouth was regular; his teeth were fine; and a dark mustache and small whiskers traversed the centre of his face. His general expression was that of command, accompanied with boldness, resolution, and a freezing, heartless dignity.

The mental qualities and characteristics of the czar were equally remarkable; although here the same phenomenon presents itself,—that of a cluster of great qualities, marred by the presence of one cardinal defect which tarnished the lustre of the whole. As the eye of Nicholas condemned his face and person, so the absence of human sympathy stamped his mental and moral nature as repulsive, and as devoid of the attractive and pleasing principle.

The talents of Nicholas as the administrator of the affairs of a vast and heterogeneous empire were of a high order. He was able to grasp an infinite variety of details, and to introduce consistency and harmony throughout all the ramifications of the government. But that government was pre-eminently a despotic one. Nicholas was a greater tyrant than any of his predecessors,—than Peter the Great, than Catherine II., than Paul I. So many successive reigns, the con-

tinual policy of which was to perfect the absolutism of the central government, had brought the tree of despotism to its fullest growth. The additional aid which war and European science had given him and his agents, had introduced throughout his dominions a vast levelling system; and the throne alone then towered, in awful and terrific majesty, above the wide and monotonous waste of his empire, like Mont Blanc shooting far upward into the heavens from the midst of a boundless and uniform desert.

Nicholas had not indeed the brutal instincts of Peter the Great; neither had he his great talents. He would never have accomplished much for the improvement of his dominions and the education of his people, had he been placed in the same situation in which that founder of the empire was placed. Nicholas had not the disordered passions of his grandmother, the voluptuous Catherine; neither had he her capacious mind, her enlightened views, her benevolence, her womanly tenderness, her brilliancy of intellect. If he did not, like her, convert his palace into a temple of Venus, he could not, as did she, permit his subjects to enjoy every liberty, social, political, and intellectual, and especially religious, which did not directly impede the march of her government. Nicholas was not the man, in a moment of trivial frivolity, to shoot down, for a wager,

a poor female slave working in his garden, as did his brother Constantine; nor would he, like Constantine, have resigned the brilliant throne of all the Russias, to allay the apprehensions, and to dry the tears, of a woman whom he loved.

In truth, it may be said that Nicholas was the most destructive and eruel despot, who disgraced the nineteenth eentury; and faets will amply justify this apparently severe deelaration. Without talents of the highest order, he possessed just enough of clearness of purpose, of resolution, of perseveranee, and of sagacity, to enable him to see what measures tended most to inerease the omnipotence of his throne; and to pursue the accomplishment of those measures, even though his pathway led through seas of human blood, and amid the groans, and agonies, and even ruin, of millions of men. During the thirty years of his reign, more persons have been eomputed to have perished by various means, of which he was the eause and the agent, than in all the preeeding reigns, until the time of Peter the Great inclusive. Thus, men were not punished, during his reign, in the same barbarous manner, as they were by some of his predeeessors. They were not impaied alive. They were not burned to death. They were not hanged up by iron hooks inserted in their ribs, and left thus to die. But it is a fact, which

cannot be controverted, that during the reign of Nicholas, whole companies of Polish prisoners were whipped to death; that the knout and the battogues were inflicted upon myriads for political offences; that these wretches, after having thus had their flesh torn away in strips from the bone, were the next day compelled to commence on foot their dreary journey to Siberia; and that multitudes perished in a few days, on the way. It is an ascertained fact, that during his long reign, Nicholas I. condemned at least two hundred and fifty thousand persons to the mines of Siberia for life; nearly all of whom were merely political offenders, whose only crime had been, that they had dared to dream, and sometimes also to speak, of freedom! Add to all these, the multitudes who have been swept away by the rude storms of war; who have fallen beneath the pestilence and famine, and at the cannon's mouth; who, had it not been for his insatiable aggressions, had enjoyed the blessings of peace;—and we will form a true, and certainly an unprejudiced, opinion of the character and influence of the czar.*

Nicholas, true to his despotic instincts, was the possessor of *twenty millions of slaves*, who belonged

* See facts stated in "Revelations in Russia in 1844," London, Colburn, 1845.

absolutely to his personal domain. Every year he increased the number of his slaves by lending money to the nobles on their serfs; and every year he appropriated to himself a large portion of them, as unredeemed pledges. In truth, the tendency of the reign of Nicholas was, to obliterate and destroy all national interest in Russia, and to promote the interests of the house of Romanoffs as the only supreme and important power in the empire; to which the government, the army, the navy, the people, and the church, were all to be subordinate and contributory.

The highest praise which has ever been bestowed upon the mental qualities of Nicholas refers to his presence of mind, and to the fortitude which he displayed on several critical occasions. His intrepidity and self-possession will not be denied. One evidence of these qualities we have already given, in the conspiracy which occurred at his accession. On another occasion, when the cholera visited St. Petersburg, the population became frenzied with terror and ignorance, and attributed the scourge to the supposition that the foreigners, the physicians, and the Poles, had poisoned all the springs. Many murders took place daily. At length a vast crowd assembled in St. Isaac's Square, vowing greater vengeance against the supposed authors of the

calamity. Nicholas, from his palace windows, beheld the infuriated multitude approaching, and instantly he entered a droschky, and dashed into the midst of them. Standing up in the vehicle, he addressed the crowd in a loud voice, whose power and volume were well known: "Where are you going, wretches?" he exclaimed. "You are about to murder innocent men. Strike your own breasts rather, and ask pardon of God for your sins, which have drawn this scourge upon your heads. On your knees!" he continued; and immediately the whole assembly obeyed him and then dispersed.

In December, 1837, the Winter Palace caught fire. Nicholas was at the theatre, at the moment the information was brought to him. He arose, gave his arm to the empress, conducted her to her carriage, and ordered the coachman to drive to the Anitchkoff Palace. He then repaired to the scene of the conflagration. A sea of fire illumined the heavens, and enveloped the home of his childhood. He immediately entered the palace, and beheld the frightful dangers which surrounded the workmen, who had received orders to remove a portion of the furniture. They all obeyed the command of the czar to escape from the falling building except four, to whom had been intrusted a magnificent mirror. These refused to leave the palace without rescuing

the precious article. Seeing their dangerous determination, Nicholas rushed forward in the midst of the falling fragments, and by a blow with the hilt of his sword, shattered the mirror to fragments. Scarcely had he and the workmen passed the threshold before the roof fell in with a terrible crash. He had, at least, saved four lives, if he had wasted myriads elsewhere, and in a less noble cause!

The conduct of Nicholas, as a father, and as a husband, is indeed the highest merit of which he can boast. He is universally admitted to have been tender and affectionate toward the empress, and gentle and kind toward his children;—though always keeping them at a respectful and awe-struck distance. As to his faithfulness as a husband, contradictory rumours are in existence. There are some persons who assert that, unlike every other prince of the Romanoff family,—and, indeed, strikingly unlike princes in general,—his nature was too cold to be attracted or influenced in the slightest degree, by female charms. One of the most fascinating and beautiful ladies of his court said of him: *Il ne peut pas être léger; il vous dit tout crûment qu'il vous trouve jolie, mais rien de plus!**

* He cannot trifle: he tells you quite bluntly, that he finds you handsome, but nothing more.

It has, however, been asserted by others, that Nicholas possessed different mistresses. Some scandal to that effect, has certainly had currency in St. Petersburg; and he has been also charged, in several instances, with the unprincipled seduction of married women, who were connected with the court. But whatever may have been the truth in regard to this subject, it is certain, that Nicholas was not very much given to licentiousness; and that the indulgences, of which he may have been guilty, were so carefully concealed by him from the observation and scrutiny of his subjects, as to leave the question of their existence a matter of impenetrable obscurity. It is related, as illustrative of his caution in this respect, that one snowy night, about midnight, issuing from the palace *incognito*, he entered a sledge; then drove to a remote quarter of the city, and disappeared amid the labyrinth of streets. He had ordered the *istworstschick*, or driver, to wait for him. As the gray tints of morning began to illumine the east, he returned to the sledge, and ordered the driver to proceed. Arrived near the Winter Palace, he directed the man to stop. Nicholas dismounted from the sledge; and turning to the driver, he said, "Do you know me?" The man shrewdly answered, "No." Nicholas, taking his purse from

his pocket, emptied its contents into the hands of the driver, turned away, and re-entered the palace. The adroit ignorance of the man had obtained an ample and unexpected reward!

People *will* surmise, with facts like these before them, that the conduct of the stern czar, with reference to the fairer sex, was not, to say the least, entirely immaculate!

CHAPTER XVI.

DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY IN RUSSIA—MORALS OF THE NOBLES OR BOYARDS—ORDERS OF THE TCHINN—THE CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF THE SERFS—VENALITY AND CORRUPTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS OF RUSSIA—THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CZAR—THE SENATE—THE COUNCIL OF THE EMPIRE—THE HOLY SYNOD—THE MINISTRY—MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CITIES AND TOWNS—THE GREEK CHURCH—CHARACTER OF THE GREEK PRIESTHOOD—THE HIERARCHY OF THE GREEK CHURCH—ITS CEREMONIES—THE ARMY OF RUSSIA—VAST MILITARY FORCES AT THE COMMAND OF THE CZAR.

WHATEVER may have been the peculiarities of Russian society, manners, and government, during the last thirty years, they can with justice be ascribed to the plastic and creative power of Nicholas; for had they not been precisely in harmony with his wishes, we may readily believe, that his resistless and arbitrary will would have altered and moulded them perfectly to his liking.

Hence a very brief survey of the manners, society, and government of Russia is indispensable to a proper conception of the dominion exercised by the czar, and of the nature of his reign.

Society in Russia may be correctly divided into

three classes. These are: first, the hereditary nobility; second, those who are in the employment of the government; and third, the peasantry, whether they are private serfs, serfs of the crown, or freed-men.

The hereditary nobles are more polished than they are civilized, exceedingly licentious in their morals, and extravagant in their habits. Many of them yearly become reduced, by their lavish wastefulness, to poverty; and their property usually passes into the possession of the imperial family. Thus, as already stated, hundreds of thousands of slaves had, from time to time, been mortgaged to Nicholas by the nobles; and, being usually unable to redeem their pledges, they fell into the all-devouring vortex of the czar's possession. This class, therefore, of the Russian nation hate the autocrat. It was among this class, that nearly all the conspirators, who undertook to overturn the throne at the accession of Nicholas, belonged. But they are a conquered race, and are, therefore, harmlessly hostile to the omnific supremacy of the czar.

The second class, or the nobility of office, are a peculiar race, and, at the same time, a very numerous one. This class comprises all the government officials throughout the empire, and they

constitute the various ranks of the great Order of the *Tchinn*. The members of this order are termed the *Tchinovniks*. It was founded by Peter the Great, and the order contains fourteen classes. The first class of these is the highest, and is said to number but one single member, who is Marshal Paskiewitch. The fourteenth class is the lowest, and the most numerous. It comprises all the government clerks, clerks of the post-office, and the post-men; and the rank answers to that of a sub-officer in the imperial army. All the classes of the *Tchinn* correspond to as many military grades, and the hierarchy of the army is parallel with the ranks which prevail in the civil service.

This second class in the nation are despised by the hereditary nobles; against whom they retaliate by every species of persecution. The emperor alone advances the members of the *Tchinn*. They are the most corrupt race of beings in the world. Bribery is universal among them, even to the very highest functionaries. They possess vast power in the state; because, by becoming informers, they can bring the most eminent nobles under the suspicion of the government, by the use of false and malicious representations. And in a despotic government, to become sus-

pected is almost equivalent to being ruined. The Tchinn wears the imperial button; and that single badge is a talisman of fearful power and consequence, however base, or despicable, or contemptible the wretch may be, who succeeds in securing the office which it designates. He is always addressed by the title *vashe blagarodie*, "your nobility." He receives a salary of fifteen pounds per annum; but he makes up by bribery and extortion, an immense sum, on which he lives in opulence and luxury. The illegal perquisites of some of the higher orders of these officials are said to amount to \$100,000 per year.

The serfs constitute the third class of the nation, and their condition is one of mingled misery and prosperity. Some of the wealthiest men in St. Petersburg are known to be serfs—either private serfs or freed-men. By the law, the serf, if he can acquire property without defrauding his master of his time and services, is permitted to do so; and his master cannot despoil him of his possessions, so obtained. Those few serfs who are rich are the favourites of benevolent masters, who take an interest in them, and protect them in their acquisitions. But the millions who are in bondage in Russia, and who constitute the great mass of the

nation, are in a state of the most deplorable poverty and wretchedness.

It has been asserted, that Nicholas made considerable exertions to free the serfs of his empire; but we have been able to discover little evidence of the amelioration of their condition, through his instrumentality. It is a notorious fact, that three-fourths of the eventualities, which release the serf from the yoke of his private master, convey him directly into the domain of the crown. There is no country in the world, in which it may be said with equal truth, as in Russia, that every man has his price. The minister, the judge, the general, the priest, down even to the public executioner,—all have their prices, in gold; and in such a land it would be absurd to expect, that so benevolent and disinterested a project as the enfranchisement of the serfs could ever be seriously proposed and executed. The serfs of the Russian Empire will doubtless remain as they are, either until the end of time, or until the growing light and freedom of these latter ages, shall at length overturn a despotism even as gigantic and rockbuilt, as is that of the czars of Muscovy.

In regard to the organization of the government, throughout the empire, some idea of its arrangement may be derived from the following details,

which are obtained from the most authentic works on the subject.*

Though, strictly speaking, there is but one authority, that of the emperor, in Russia, yet he employs a very complicated machinery as the instrument of his purposes. The three principal councils of the empire are—1. The Council of the Empire; 2. The Holy Synod; 3. The Directing Senate.

The Council of the Empire was established by Alexander I. in 1810, and its functions are, to examine the administrative measures relating to the home policy submitted to it by the emperor. It consists of all the imperial princes, and of statesmen, generals, and admirals who are appointed by the sovereign. Its complement of members is forty. This council is divided into five departments. These refer—1. To Laws; 2. The Army and Navy; 3. Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs; 4. Public Economy and Commerce; 5. Poland. The members of the council meet in common or in departments, according to the subject to be discussed. When it meets in common, the emperor presides; when it meets apart, a president is appointed.

The Holy Synod attends to all ecclesiastical affairs.

* The following details respecting the organization of the czar's government, are derived from the works of Golovin and Morrell, with an occasional fact from the Marquis de Custine.

It only depends on the emperor, who is represented by an attorney. This attorney was recently a cavalry officer, General Protasoff. The number of its members is not determined, but they must all be ecclesiastics. It generally consists of a metropolitan, three archbishops, one bishop, the confessor of the emperor, an archimandrid, the general almoner of the army and navy, and a protopope. One section of the synod remains at Moscow; but capital cases are all decided at St. Petersburg.

The Directing Senate, was founded in 1711 by Peter the Great. It contains about one hundred members, who are chosen by the emperor from the three first classes of the state. The ministers have a right to four members in it, as also generals of the army when at St. Petersburg.

The Directing Senate is the highest legislative authority in the state; but the emperor can confirm or annul its decisions. It watches over the execution of the imperial mandates. It answers the purpose of a court of final appeal in civil and criminal matters. It scrutinizes the expenditures of the state, and suggests measures for the relief of the people. It has eleven departments, six at St. Petersburg, three at Moscow, and two at Warsaw. The emperor is its president, and can annul all its proceedings. The emperor is as absolute now, as in

the times of Ivan the Terrible. All the guarantee which the privileges of the nation possess, is the pleasure of the monarch, who may grant and abrogate whatever he pleases. In order to prevent the youth of the empire from studying in the universities of Europe, Nicholas promulgated a ukase which declared all who did so incapable of afterward holding office under his government.

After these councils there are the Committees of Ministers, presided over by the emperor. Alexander I. created ministries independent of each other, with no other connecting link than the emperor. The ministries are nine in number: the Imperial Household; the Interior or Home Department; Foreign Affairs; War; the Navy; the Army; Education; Finance; Justice. There are also three general Directions: the Imperial Post; the Highways; the Board of Control, for auditing all the expenses of the empire.

On the ministry of Foreign Affairs depend the envoys to foreign countries, who are divided into three classes: three ambassadors of the first class are at Vienna, Paris, and London; seventeen ministers plenipotentiary are at Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhagen, the Hague, Brussels, Lisbon, Turin, Rome, Naples, Constantinople, Munich, Dresden, Stuttgard, Frankfort, Washington, Rio Janeiro, and

Teheran; seven *Chargés-d'Affaires* are in Switzerland, Carlsruhe, Florence, Weimar, Hamburg, Athens, and Lucea. There are also many consuls-general and consuls residing at points of minor importance.

Passing on to the internal government of the empire, we find in every provincial capital a chamber of regency, which attends to matters of general administration. The civil governor is the president. The chamber is composed of four counselors, named by the czar. Every district has its tribunal of police, which does not possess any judicial authority. It has to attend to inquiries into political and criminal affairs. The principal agents of the government in the provinces are the governor-general and the local governors. They inflict the penalties of all criminal offenses.

There is also in each town a common municipal council, and a council of six, presided over by the chief of the burghers. They are renewed every three years. The first of these attends to the commercial interests, and to the good order of the parish. The other keeps in repair the buildings, and superintends the finances of the parish. Each town has also a commandant, named by the government. Each province has a chamber of finance, composed of a president and several counsellors,

who superintend the manufactures, the exports, and imports.

The institutions connected with state credit are four in number: the Commission for liquidating the national debt; the Bank for the issue of paper money; the Loan Bank, to make advances from the public funds; the Commercial Bank, making discount and advancing money on goods.

In judicial matters, each province has a Civil Chamber and a Criminal Chamber. An attorney, dependent on the Minister of Justice, resides in each province, to represent the government. There are three degrees in the Russian courts of law: the District Court; the Government Court; the Departments of the Senate. In all judicial proceedings, however, there are seven jurisdictions to which appeals may be successively made: the Attorney-General of the Departments of the Senate; the Commission of Petitions, to refer matters to the General Assembly of the Senate; the Assembly; the Minister of Justice; the Commission to transfer affairs to the Council of the Empire; the Department of the Council of the Empire; the emperor himself, before whom every litigation may be brought as its final arbiter, without the possibility of appeal.

Having thus detailed the machinery of the Rus-

sian government, as administered by Nicholas, let us glance at the next great department of the national fabric, the Greek Church, as established by law throughout the empire.*

The emperor is the acknowledged head of the Russian church. The influence of the Patriarchs of Constantinople has always been slight in Russia. After the fall of Constantinople, the Patriarchs passed under Turkish and Mohammedan control, which, however, was scarcely more injurious than that of the Russian autocrat would have been. Under tyrants like Ivan IV. the authority of the Patriarchs which were afterward appointed in Russia, became powerless.

Golovin says: "I know the Russian clergy, and I assert that their authority is not at all preferable to that of the czar. Peter I. abolished the office of Patriarch in Russia, and substituted the Holy Synod in its place. Theoretically, this synod is a laudable institution; but its usefulness is greatly impaired by the blind obedience which it renders to the orders of the czar. The Holy Synod judges of the changes suitable to be introduced into the administration of the clergy; but its real power is limited

* The following details in reference to the Greek Church, as established in Russia, are derived from Morell, Golovin, and de Custine, writers referred to in a previous note.

to signing the orders that emanate from the attorney of the emperor, General Protosoff. The financial matters of the convents are the only questions on which the synod can deliberate freely; and it is besieged with innumerable complaints on this score."

There are three degrees of jurisdiction in the Russian church: 1. The Holy Synod; 2. The Consistory; 3. The Prastenie or Gubernium. The priesthood is divided into two sections, the regular and the secular priests. The Consistory is an administrative and judiciary court, but the bishop exercises absolute control over it. It is said that indulgence, moderation, and even justice, are unknown in this court; and that the accused priests generally prefer to be judged by the civil courts.

The Prastenie exists in most district towns. The superior of the most important convent in the district is usually at its head. Archpriests, and some ordinary priests, are appointed to sit in these bodies. Infractions of discipline are judged and punished in them. It is only in cases of thefts committed by members of the superior clergy, that the bishop refers the matter to the Holy Synod. Strange as it may appear, these cases are by no means rare. Ecclesiastical delinquencies among the priests are judged by the ecclesiastical courts, and civil delin-

quencies among them are judged by the civil courts. When priests are thus tried and convicted, the healthy and strong men are sent into the army, the others, to the colonies or manufactures. Despotism is the basis of ecclesiastical, as well as of civil, authority in Russia. Each bishop is a despot in his diocese; each priest is a petty tyrant in his parish.

Archbishops, metropolitans, and bishops, are appointed by the emperor, from the candidates presented by the synod. The bishop, in his turn, appoints the superiors of convents, protopriests, and other subordinates, with the confirmation of the Holy Synod. All the higher ecclesiastical orders are forbidden to marry; the lower orders of priests may marry once. Hence the proverb, "Happy as a priest's wife," from the good care the priests take of their consorts. It is forbidden even to the lower clergy to marry after ordination; hence it is the usual custom for them to marry immediately before that ceremony is performed.

The Russian Greek church condemns the use of images; yet its members pay idolatrous homage to relics and religious paintings. The nobles, as well as the serfs, prostrate themselves before the most wretched daubs, and pray to them with devout fervor. Some of these vile pictures possess a widely-spread reputation for working miracles. The virgins of

Kasan, of Smolensk, and of Sikhwen, are celebrated for their achievements in this benevolent way. As may well be supposed, the pious frauds perpetrated in connection with these pictures, upon the deluded devotees, are of the most outrageous and disgusting description. Once a priest conceived the idea of planing away the reverse of a picture painted on wood, leaving the wood so thin at a certain point, that the flame of a lighted candle was visible through it from the rear. This was proclaimed as a vast miracle, and a whole province was thrown into excitement in reference to it. No trade in relics is openly permitted, though a fragment of a saint's garment, or his great toe, will command a handsome price!

The churches of the Greek faith very much resemble Jewish synagogues in their structure, being divided into three parts—the sanctuary, the parvise or space in front of the sanctuary, and the nave. The sanctuary contains the tabernacle over the altar. The gospel, the cross, and the chalices, together with the missal, which is not a consecrated book, remain upon the altar. The sanctuary is separated from the nave by the royal gate, with two lateral doors and a suspended curtain. A platform, raised slightly above the body of the church, called the ambon, serves as a pulpit and a reading-desk.

From it, and not from the altar, the communion is administered. A profusion of tapers is used in the services of the Russian church, and the *Domine Saluum fac Regem* is eternally repeated through the celebration of the mass.

Some choirs in the Russian churches are excellent; but the service is usually recited in a mumbling tone, and in a slovenly manner. The *Miserere nobis* is also continually repeated; and in one instance it occurs forty times in succession. A certain profane priest on one occasion undertook to shorten the infliction by saying, "O Lord! save us forty times!"

The Russian service is performed in the old Slavonic language, which is, in a great measure, a dead language to modern worshippers. There are fifteen communion loaves, shaped like balls, one joined to the other. One is the loaf of Christ, two of the Virgin Mary, three of the saints, four of the living, and five of the dead. These unfortunate loaves are tortured and mutilated in every possible manner. Pieces pulled from them go through various destinations in the progress of the communion service.

Baptism is performed with warmed water, and never with cold. The priest expels the devil from it, by blowing over it, or at it, three times, and making the sign of the cross the same number of times. At

burials, the dead are made to hold a wax taper in their hands. All heretics are cursed with singular earnestness and bitterness.

The moral condition of the Russian clergy, is a singular subject of reflection. The Marquis de Custine, M. Kohl, and other writers give a deplorable account of their ignorance, their degradation, and their wretchedness. Two-thirds of the lower clergy are represented as being in a state of actual destitution. Many of them till the ground, and labour hard, in order to obtain a livelihood. Many of them never wear shoes, except when actually engaged in the performance of public service. They are all the obsequious slaves of the civil power, from whom they derive the small salaries on which they subsist.

The greatest and most prevalent vice among the Russian clergy, is drunkenness. Frequently they remain in a state of intoxication during the whole week, and only *sober up* on the approach of Sunday, to perform their public duties. This vice proceeds from their poverty and their misery, which drive them to it as a relief.

These remarks apply solely to the inferior clergy. The higher order, or archpriests, are represented as learned and exemplary men. These are the persons who eventually rise to the dignity of bishops, archimandrids, and archbishops; who sit in the holy

synod; who become the depositaries of the confidence, and sometimes of the secrets, of the emperor and his family. But their numbers are very small compared with the vast multitudes of the ecclesiastical orders.

The Russian church observes the ceremony or sacrament of confession and absolution, and money will purchase any quantity of indulgences. No priest in Russia can become a peer, or deputy ambassador, or merchant. They become entirely unsecularized by their ordination. Yet they have several orders of merit among them, indicated by the wearing of ribbons. Some writers affirm that the degradation, ignorance, and vulgarity of the Russian ordinary priests, exceed that of any other religious community in the civilized world; and that Nicholas particularly approved and protected this state of things, in order to render them the more obsequious and effective instruments of his all-grasping and all-crushing tyranny.

The last grand division of the social and governmental aspects of the Russian empire, to which we shall refer, is the favourite arm of the late czar, the great central pillar of his throne,—his military establishment.

The flower of the Russian army are the Imperial Guards, numbering forty thousand picked men.

They are divided into fifteen regiments of cavalry, containing 12,000 men; ten regiments of infantry, containing 24,000 men; and seventeen battalions of ordnance, including sappers, miners, horse-artillery, and foot-artillery, containing 4000 men. These are probably the most formidable-looking and imposing soldiery in the world.

The rest of the Russian army, on the peace establishment, comprises seven *corps d'armée* and one *corps* of reserve; each *corps* containing 50,000 men. These make a total of 350,000. In addition to these, there are the armies of Orenberg and the Caucasus, which contain 85,000 more. To these must be added 140 regiments of Cossacks of the line, containing 80,000 men. These added together make a grand total of 600,000 men; as being the standing army, always maintained by the czars, whether in time of war, or of peace. With such a prodigious military force constantly at his command, and waiting for his orders, it is not surprising that the haughty Nicholas, surrounded as he constantly was with the incense of the adulation of myriads of fawning subjects and courtiers, should have imagined, that he had little more to do, in order to grasp the sceptre of the sultan, than to order his vast armies to march to the shores of the Golden Horn and enter the gorgeous gates of the Seraglio! And it

must also be remembered, when estimating the military resources of Nicholas, that these troops were not raw recruits. The perfect and matchless discipline of the Russian army, is the most remarkable feature which characterizes it. Those 600,000 men had been drilled each day for many years, with the most scrupulous severity and rigour. They were familiar with every possible military manœuvre; and they were commanded by officers, whose attainments in military science were inferior to those of no other nation in Europe. When taking these facts into consideration, we may more correctly estimate the vast difficulties against which the allies have had to contend, in this last great conflict with the Russian autocrat.

CHAPTER XVII.

EXCESSIVE VENALITY AMONG THE RUSSIAN OFFICIALS—COUN^T BENKENDORF—EFFORTS OF NICHOLAS TO REMEDY THIS EVIL—INSTANCE OF JUDICIAL CORRUPTION—PECULIARITIES OF RUSSIAN SOCIETY—THE LADIES OF RUSSIA—EXTRAVAGANCE OF RUSSIAN NOBLES—DISTINGUISHED MEN OF RUSSIA—NESSELRODE—ORLOFF—MENTSCHIKOFF—PRINCE PASKIEWITCH—PRINCE WORONZOF.

WHOEVER examines carefully the state of society and government under Nicholas will discover that venality and corruption existed there, in every branch and department, from the highest to the lowest official; and that no other country in Christendom presents a parallel to Russia in this respect.

It was the prevalent rumour that Count Benken-
dorf, the chief of the secret service, and four or five
others, holding office under Nicholas, were the only
persons throughout the whole empire, who were
incorruptible.

In regard to the courts of justice especially, the
most outrageous venality exists. This state of things
is favoured by the methods of procedure adopted in
the Russian courts. Oral pleading no longer exists.
Trial by jury has always been unknown. The pro-

ceedings are entirely secret. The accused parties are delivered, bound, to the tribunals, who dispose of them according to their caprice, and without control. The final decision is not with them, in general, a question of right; it is an affair of interest and speculation.

There are a certain number of persons attached to each court, who are called scribes or advocates, but who are in fact nothing less than *go-betweens* of the judges and the parties. These approach one of the suitors, and make a bargain by which the first judgment is secured to him. The defeated party is then applied to, and induced to appeal to a higher tribunal, and his bribes gain a judgment in *his* favour in the second court. The defeated party is then taken in hand, and he, by a similar process gains the third appeal. And thus the unhappy litigants are alternately defrauded until either the emperor finally adjudicates the matter, or both parties are utterly ruined.

It cannot be denied, that one of the best features connected with the reign of Nicholas was his attempts to punish and abolish this venality; and whenever a case was brought clearly before him, and the guilt of the offenders was unquestionable, he punished them with the most frightful severity. Many high judges he has exiled for life to Siberia. Peter the Great justly declared, that in cheatery, a

single Russian was a match for three Jews! The police in Russia are as corrupt as the other government officials. It is asserted that acknowledged thieves possess, in St. Petersburg, perfect security in the pursuit of their vocation. The police derive such vast sums from their plunder that they dare not arrest them, and would not on any account do so, even if they dared.

To confirm these assertions respecting the state of official society under Nicholas, let us adduce several actual instances.

A reduced nobleman had been carrying on a lawsuit for several years, when he was given to understand, from the secretary of the court, that unless he paid ten thousand rubles (\$2000) the decision would be against him. The unfortunate man was utterly unable to obtain any such sum; and the idea struck him to have recourse to Count Benkendorf, the honest, to ascertain whether he could not interfere in his behalf. He offered to furnish the count with unquestionable proof of the venality of the judge; and for that purpose he proposed that he should be intrusted with the ten thousand rubles; and he undertook that this sum should be found on the person of the judge. Benkendorf consented. The terror which the severity of Nicholas on official corruption had inspired into all

classes of functionaries in Russia, had rendered them exceedingly cautious and adroit; and in the present case the judge proposed, in order to avoid all danger, that the party paying the bribe should invite him to a private dinner at a tavern, and there pay over the amount. The proposition was acceded to, and several officers of police were secretly stationed near the apartment, for the purpose of arresting the judge on retiring.

The judge was punctual to the appointment, and as soon as he and the litigant were seated, he signified by the movement of his fingers that now was the time to pay over the money. He received the roll of bank notes, carefully counted them over, and then threw them into his hat. At this moment some one knocked. It was the judge's nephew, who came with some message from his wife. The judge gave him an answer, and then bowed him out. At the conclusion of the dinner, as he was preparing to depart, and had put his hat on his head, the poor noble gave the preconcerted signal, and the policemen entered with an order from Count Benkendorff for the arrest of the judge. "Examine his hat," said the nobleman, "and you will find the money in it." The judge smiled blandly, and took off his hat: it was empty. When the nephew retired he had taken up the judge's hat

instead of his own. The poor noble consequently not only lost his case, but was also compelled to refund the ten thousand rubles; and was, moreover, punished with a prosecution for defamation of character.

The truth was, that the mercenary judge had received private information from the officer of Count Benkendorf, of what was about to transpire. For this information he obtained his share of the spoils.

Nicholas once adopted the expedient of increasing fourfold the salaries of the judges, with the hope that they would thus be elevated above the temptation to receive bribes. He therefore ordered that their salaries should be paid in silver rubles, and not in rubles of paper money. The consequence was quite different from what the czar had anticipated. The judges thenceforth required that the sums paid to them privately as bribes, should be counted in silver, and not in paper rubles.

The great peculiarity of Russian society under Nicholas was the mania for ostentation. The Grand Opera in St. Petersburg presents, in its audience, the most brilliant and magnificent display ever seen in any of the capitals of Europe. On being introduced to a Russian nobleman, his guest is taken through his saloons, and having admired their splendour, the host exclaims, "This is yours." If the

guest is fond of wine, the host tells him that in his cellar are all the brands in the world, and that his guest shall taste them all in turn.

The ladies of Russia are represented as being every way superior to the sterner sex, and as indeed possessing great attractiveness, and every charm and grace. They are all conversant with the principal languages of Europe, and generally speak French like natives. They possess the valuable art of making their acquirements and accomplishments effective. The greatest art, however, displayed by the ladies of Russia is in the infinite resources of their conversation; beyond all question the most difficult of achievements, inasmuch as almost every theme becomes dangerous under the suspicious despotism of the czar. Shall they converse respecting science? It is a very tedious subject. Shall they speak of art? It is professional and commonplace. Dare they touch upon history or politics? Beware! a yawning and perilous abyss lies that way, and men and women shudder to approach it. Under these difficult and perplexing circumstances most people would sit down in mute despair, and quietly say nothing. Not so do the fair dames of Russia. Their conversation is represented as exhibiting infinite tact, variety, sprightliness, and wit; and their society is described as being agreeable in the ex-

treme. Out of nothing, they adroitly weave a fascinating tissue of discourse, comprising a little, and just enough, of every thing.

Gambling is a prevalent vice in Russia; and the havoc made by this reckless dissipation in the fortunes of the improvident nobles, is frequently terrible and astounding. Their extravagance of living is equally amazing. They frequently purchase Tokay wine for ten guineas a bottle; and give ten thousand dollars for a Cashmere shawl, which they sell, a few weeks afterward, for seven, or even five thousand. The amounts spent by the nobles for cambric shirts, for perfumes, for essences, for jewels, furs, and ornaments of various kinds, exceed belief. The conversation of this class is usually confined to three pre-eminently important subjects—champaigne, cards, and French actresses.

If the higher functionaries of the government are merenary and venal in the extreme, the same may be said of the lower order—the police. To what has already been stated on this point, it may be well to add several other facts, as illustrative of the subject.

A Courland nobleman lost some silverware from his plate-chest. Shortly afterward he saw the stolen goods openly exhibited for sale in a silversmith's shop-window. The owner examined the articles

closely. They bore his arms, and the initials of his name. He called in a police officer, and stated the facts. The silversmith affirmed that he had bought the articles from another person, but offered to restore the whole to the nobleman immediately. Here the policeman interfered. He drew up a formal statement, and requested the owner to send to the office, whither he himself took the stolen articles, some other article from the chest, by which he could prove his claim to the whole. The nobleman did so. He sent the entire case to the police office, and never saw any thing of any of the articles afterward!

Again: a German physician in St. Petersburg desired to hire a coachman. One applied for the place just as his droschki was at the door. He directed the man to mount, and drive up and down the street, to know his skill. He did so, and was accepted by the physician. The latter was then called to dinner; and, during this interval, the man had disappeared with both horse and droschki. The police were applied to. After six weeks the horse and droschki were produced; but in so wretched a state, and the charges for their recovery were so enormous, that the physician preferred to leave his property in the hands of the officers of public justice!

The all-pervading despotism of Nicholas has even affected the changes of costume in his court. For the purpose of adding to the magnificence of his court receptions, he decreed that the ladies of the court should wear a peculiar dress, a prominent portion of which was the *sarafan*, a wide, open robe without sleeves, under which is worn a full long-sleeved gown. The *sarafan* is made of velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and varying in the embroidery according to the rank of the wearer. To this must be added the *kokoshnik*, a kind of diadem, resembling a crescent, with the points turned toward the back. This ornament is generally richly set with pearls and precious stones, and from the back descends a long and graceful veil. It gives to each fair wearer the aspect and the bearing of a queen.

The Russian court receptions under the influence of Nicholas I. are represented as having been splendid in the extreme; far superior to any thing to be seen elsewhere in Europe. On entering the imperial palace, a blaze of magnificence bursts upon the view, which words fail adequately to describe. The rich paintings, the exquisite statuary, the innumerable works of the choicest and rarest *vertu*, the brilliant mirrors, the painted columns and mosaic ceilings, the superb uniforms, the elegant and graceful

costumes, combined with the easy and fascinating manners of both men and women,—all constituted a dazzling and delightful vision, which is nowhere surpassed, and probably not equalled, among all the courts of Europe.

Among the most distinguished men, whose talents and reputation added lustre to the court of Nicholas, the most eminent was Nesselrode. He has been well known as one of the leading statesmen of Europe for thirty years. He was born of German parents, who had become Russian subjects; and arose from obscurity to high distinction only by the force of his talents, and by that pliability and adroitness of character, which is the most essential quality of the courtier and the diplomatist.

The favourite nobleman of Nicholas was Count Orloff,—he whose promptitude and energy were of such essential service to the czar, at the time of the insurrection at his accession, on the 26th of December, 1825. The most remarkable circumstance connected with this prince is, that he is charged with being the imperial poisoner; and with having removed from the world no less than four persons at the desire of his stern master. These individuals appear to have been Alexander I., General Diebitsch, the Empress Elizabeth, wife of Alexander I., and the Grand Duke Constantine. How far these

horrid charges may be founded in truth, it is impossible to determine.

Prince Mentschikoff is one of the most distinguished warriors and diplomatists of the Russian court. He is a statesman and soldier of great experience. It is somewhat singular, that as he was that representative of the czar, who was employed to convey to the sultan the insulting and extravagant demands, which occasioned the present war; so he was that one of the Russian generals who has been most severely beaten, harrassed, and humbled, by the continued and triumphant successes of the Allies.

Prince Paskiewitch, now very aged, infirm, and broken down by a long career of toil and of glory, reposes upon his laurels, and takes no longer any share in the stirring events of the times. It was he, who was so successful in crushing the power of Persia and Turkey, in the wars which Nicholas waged against those kingdoms, in the earlier period of his reign. His military reputation is the highest of any possessed by the distinguished military men of Russia.

Prince Woronzof, the governor-general of southern Russia, possesses the second civil authority in the empire. He was educated in part in England, being related to some members of the

English nobility. He is characterized by the more enlightened views which he entertains on the subject of government; and uses his great authority for the elevation and improvement of the vast territory placed under his control. He resides at Odessa, and the Crimea has flourished like a garden under his fostering care. He served with much distinction in the wars of 1812-14 against Napoleon I. He is an experienced soldier and statesman, and deservedly stood high in the estimation of the late Czar Nicholas.*

* For further particulars respecting Prince Woronzof, see Appendix, No. II.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PATRONAGE EXTENDED BY NICHOLAS TO THE FINE ARTS—THE COURT THEATRE—THE OPERA—RUBINI—GARCIA—SONTAG—FANNY ELSSLER—RACHEL—MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—THE EMPRESS—ALEXANDER II.—THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE—SPLENDID MONUMENT ERECTED BY NICHOLAS TO THE MEMORY OF ALEXANDER I.—NICHOLAS AN IMITATOR OF NAPOLEON I.

SCYTHIA, whether modern or ancient, has never been a congenial home for the arts. As a race, the Russians have never produced any artists of eminence; and though the nobles appreciate the productions of foreign artists, the works of *vertu* which they possess, like their French mistresses, are all imported from the other side of the Rhine.

The Emperor Nicholas, from his natural refinement of mind, and from his foreign travels, possessed some appreciation of the arts, and of artists; and hence we find that, during his reign, the most eminent representatives of the arts were successively invited to his capital, and received, as the reward of their exertions, magnificent and lavish presents from the imperial family.

The court theatre of St. Petersburg owes its exist

ence to the munificent gallantry of the Emperor Nicholas. It was built by his express orders, as a birthday surprise for the Archduchess Helena, wife of the Grand Duke Michael, and was presented to her, on the anniversary of her birth, by the czar. It is termed the Michael's Theatre in honour of her husband. During the progress of its erection, no one suspected that it was to be a theatre; inasmuch as its exterior differs in no respect from that of the elegant buildings adjacent to it. Though not the largest, it is the most splendid theatre in St. Petersburg. The appearance which it presents, when filled by the court circle, is said to be magnificent in the extreme. All its performances are in the French language, and the company is constantly renewed by new recruits from Paris. Nicholas was a constant visitor at this theatre.

There is also a theatre in the capital—the Alexander, in which plays are performed in the Russian language, which Nicholas occasionally visited. In the Stone Theatre, a building of colossal dimensions, German and Russian operas are performed. There is such a thing as a Russian opera in existence, although its fame has never yet travelled beyond the marshes of the Neva.

Nicholas on many occasions exhibited his appreciation of genuine art, by the patronage which he

extended to its most distinguished representatives and interpreters, whom he invited to his capital. In 1844, by an express message from the czar, *Rubini*, though then possessing but the tradition of his voice, visited St. Petersburg, and was received and rewarded by the czar, with munificence. The same may be said of the celebrated *Garcia*, at whose benefit, such a flood of flowers fell around her on the stage, one bouquet of which, richly jewelled, came from the imperial box, that they had to be carried from the stage in large clothes-baskets. This was in February, at a period of the year, when a single rose costs twenty rubles at St. Petersburg. A fortune may literally be said to have been thrown, on that occasion, at the fair feet of the illustrious artist.

Nicholas ordained, for the encouragement of the dramatic art, that an actor or actress who had served twenty years in the theatres of the capital, should be entitled to a pension for the remainder of his or her life. This pension amounts to 4000 rubles per annum.

For artists of distinguished merit and personal respectability, Nicholas entertained very high esteem; and his conduct toward them was marked by the greatest liberality. Thus when Madame Sontag, the illustrious German songstress, was residing at his court in her quality as ambassadress, and wife of the Sardinian representative, Count Rossi, she

took occasion to express to the czar her wish, that her former instructress and friend, Madame Czecca, might be invited to some comfortable position in the Russian capital. The emperor immediately sent General Gedeonoff to Vienna, with orders to conduct the lady to St. Petersburg. There she was installed in the singing department as chief, with a salary of 4000 rubles. But this was the least valuable portion of her appointment. Madam Czecca was requested to give lessons in music to the Grand Duchesses Olga and Alexandra, and to the daughter of the Grand Duke Michael. The consequence was that it became the fashion for the highest families, to patronize the instructress of the fair Sontag; and her importance and pecuniary profits became prodigious, not less than 20,000 rubles per annum. At Leipsic she had toiled for five hundred *thalers* per year, but a short time previously. Her single lessons at St. Petersburg commanded twenty rubles, per lesson, if she went abroad. On one occasion, having appointed to give a lesson at the house of the Countess Scheremitoff, she arrived a short time after the appropriate hour. She apologized by saying, that she was compelled to wait for a hackney-coach. Upon the day fixed for the next lesson, an elegant carriage awaited her; and on her returning home in it, the coachman begged to know, where he should

put it up? Two lines from the liberal countess begged her musical friend to accept of it, as a trifling present from herself.

During the residence of the Countess de Rossi at the court of St. Petersburg, Nicholas displayed his appreciation of her exalted merits as an artist, by uniting in the general and urgent request of the court, that she should throw aside the trammels of her official and diplomatic rank, and sing before a select audience composed of the highest aristocracy of the capital. She did so, to the intensest gratification and delight of her distinguished audience.

When the celebrated pianist Liszt visited St. Petersburg, the emperor attended all the twelve concerts which he gave in that city. The whole court, the highest nobility, and all the distinguished men of the capital, following the example of the sovereign, crowded his concert-room; and the receipts for a single night amounted to 20,000 rubles. He received many pieces of jewelry from the emperor, as testimonials of his admiration of the artist.

The great representatives of all the various departments of the arts, have received patronage, equally partial and profitable, from the czar. When the great queen of the Terpsichorean art, Fanny Elssler, appeared in St. Petersburg, she was treated with marked consideration by the czar, who fully appre-

ciated the extraordinary skill, and unequalled grace, which characterized her performances, especially at a period when she was in the meridian of her powers.

Nicholas has also honoured tragedy, in the person of its most illustrious representative, Mademoiselle *Rachel*. The first occasion on which he beheld the performance of this great artist, was while on a visit with the empress to Berlin. Mlle. Rachel was requested to perform before the imperial and royal families at the *Ile des paons*. The soft green turf formed the only stage, in this beautiful and retired spot, which was in the vicinity of the palaces of Potsdam. The audience were placed on a few elegant *fauteuils* arranged in front of the actress. At length the emperor advances, and familiarly addressing the great actress, compliments her on her fame and her abilities; and placing his chair nearer to her, said, "I have requested this performance here, in order that I might have a nearer view of you, than on the stage." She performed the part of *Virginie*; and so charmed was Nicholas then with her performance, that he extended to Rachel an invitation to visit St. Petersburg. On the following day, Count Orloff brought from him a magnificent brooch, valued at thirty thousand francs, as a gift to the tragedienne, and as a token of his admiration of her abilities.

In November, 1852, in accordance with the invitation of Nicholas, M'lle Rachel visited St. Petersburg. The czar did not disappoint the expectations which he had led the artist to entertain. She gave twenty representations in the Russian capital, most of which were attended by the imperial family and by the court. The receipts for these twenty performances are said to have been over 200,000 francs. On the evening of the Russian *fête* of St. Catherine, she was invited to perform at the palace of the Grand Duchess Helena, at which the whole of the imperial family were present. Afterward, at the special request of Nicholas, she performed in the Winter Palace, at a *soirée*, at which the entire court attended.

It is indeed in connection with his patronage of art, and his attachment to his family, that the most pleasing and attractive qualities of the Czar Nicholas appear. In these displays he seems no longer the terrible despot, the unsympathizing magnate of a vast empire; he then stands forth with an agreeable visage, as a man, susceptible of human feelings and attachments.

The members of the family of Nicholas were, in general, princes and princesses of merit. The empress, his wife, was a daughter of the beautiful but afflicted Queen Louisa of Prussia, whose gentle spirit

was broken and outraged by the brutality of Napoleon, when the battle of Jena placed the sovereignty of the house of Brandenburg beneath his iron foot. The Russian empress was handsome in form and feature, though somewhat cold and reserved in her manners. She was tall and slender in person; but for many years suffered under a nervous disease. The czar had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son is Alexander II., the present Czar of all the Russias. He is represented as being a person of amiable temper and pleasing address; but he has been described, whether truly or not is uncertain, as being weak-minded, and even partially deranged. It may be the fact, that the vast anxieties and cares which he has inherited with his throne, in the conduct of the disastrous war in the East, may have proved too much for a mind of ordinary, or perhaps of inferior, calibre. It is certain, however, that his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, is a person of very different temper and disposition. He is next in the succession after the present czar, should the latter die without issue. He resembles his uncle, the late Grand Duke Constantine, in the stern qualities and warlike nature of his disposition. Once the present czar, Alexander, remarked in his hearing, that "the charge of ruling a nation was a very burdensome one" Constantine immediately re-

plied with energy, "If you have nothing else to trouble you, speak the word, brother, and I will relieve you of that charge." It is certain that if Constantine ever succeeds to the throne of the Czars, he will reign with a rod of iron over the millions who will have become subject to his power.

As an evidence of the attachment borne by Nicholas to the memory of his brother, Alexander I., we may refer to the magnificent column erected by him in honour of the latter in St. Petersburg.

This immense shaft is the largest in the world. It was elevated on its pedestal on St. Alexander Newsky's day, October 30, 1832, in the presence of the imperial family, the nobility, the citizens, and a vast concourse of strangers. It was placed in the large square in front of the Winter Palace of the emperor. This superb monument is of red granite, the pedestal of which is forty feet high. The shaft, which consists of a single piece, is eighty-five feet in length, and twelve feet in diameter at the top. The column supports a colossal bronze statue, representing an angel holding a cross. The statue, including its pedestal and the capital of the column, is thirty-five feet high. The height of the whole monument, from the ground to the top of the statue, is one hundred and sixty feet. The stone for this stupendous monument was brought from Finland,

and transported to St. Petersburg in a ship built for that express purpose. The inclined plane on which the shaft was rolled from the Neva to its present site, contained a forest of wood, which alone cost \$200,000. The column was raised to its position on its pedestal by means of sixty capstans, manned by twenty-five hundred of the veteran soldiers of Alexander I., who had served under him in his most glorious campaigns. Each of these veterans was decorated with a badge of honour. The difficult task of its elevation was accomplished by the engineers of Nicholas without the slightest accident, in the presence of an immense multitude, who preserved the silence of the grave while the shaft was ascending to its resting-place; but whose acclamations seemed to shake the earth, and rend the sky, after the work had been completed.

It was a peculiar and undisputed characteristic of Nicholas, that he entertained intense admiration for Napoleon I., and was, in fact, a servile imitator of that great man, as far as it was possible for him to be so.

The reader will have observed, that from the commencement of his reign, in all his wars, Nicholas had been victorious; that in every conspiracy he had been triumphant over his enemies; that by diplomacy, as well as by conquest, he had uniformly

obtained all that his politic ambition had induced him to demand. During his first war with Turkey, he had lost 200,000 men by famine and disease, and by the incapacity of General Diebitsch; and yet he had concluded the treaty of Adrianople, by which he had obtained the most humiliating and disastrous concessions from the sultan. It was not very singular, therefore, that Nicholas should imagine himself to have been a great hero; and that his uniform successes should have induced him to indulge the belief that these, coupled with his vast inherited power, rendered him, in some measure, the equal of the ambitious and successful Corsican. The power wielded by Nicholas I. was certainly not much inferior to that acquired by Napoleon; but in the qualities of his mind, though he was by no means an ordinary man, the Russian potentate falls far below that most gifted and extraordinary personage, either of ancient or modern times.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TWO GREAT MERITS IN THE CHARACTER OF NICHOLAS I.—INCIDENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THEM—THE RUSSIAN CODE OF LAWS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE LIFE OF NICHOLAS—BENEVOLENCE OF THE CZAR—HIS INTREPID CONDUCT DURING THE PREVALENCE OF THE CHOLERA—HIS DESPOTIC CONDUCT AS A SOVEREIGN.

THE chief administrative merits which the advocates of Nicholas can claim in his behalf are two. The first of these is that he has attempted, in many instances, to punish and suppress the disgraceful venality, dishonesty, and corruption, which so universally and shamefully prevail among the officials of the government throughout the whole empire.

Thus, on one occasion, he resolved to examine thoroughly into the extent of this evil; and appointed two intelligent persons belonging to his staff of secretaries—Germans from Courland, in whose integrity he seemed to have confidence—to investigate every branch of the public service; boldly to sound the hidden depths of this foul ocean of corruption, and to reveal them to him. The task was begun. It was a difficult one, and thou-

sands of impediments were thrown in the way of the commission. But they persevered, until they accomplished the work, as far as it could possibly be done. The spectacle then exhibited to the gaze of the czar was indeed a horrible one. Instances of bribery, shuffling, and dishonesty, were pointed out to him, even among his highest officials. Names were freely given; proofs were offered in abundance.

Yet the punishment of so many, and of such high personages, was, of course, out of the question. The vengeance of the czar would have fallen upon the noblest and most exalted heads in the empire. He knew not what to do. To live in the midst of such conscious corruption was horrible; yet to remove it was impossible. In despair, the czar threw the report of the commission into the fire.

The same evening, burdened by his gloomy reflections, he went to the house of his favourite minister, Count Nesselrode. He exhibited, in his gloomy air, evidence that something disagreeable operated upon his spirits. The keen courtier soon discovered the state of the czar's mind; and he took the liberty of inquiring what was the cause of his sadness. In reply, Nicholas briefly narrated the results of the investigation of the commission, and

then exclaimed, with indignation, "Everybody robs throughout the empire! Every one around me robs! In whatever direction I turn my eyes, I see nothing but pilferers and robbers! There is only one person, a single person, who can walk proudly erect in conscious innocence. Of this person, at least, I am sure."

Count Nesselrode of course imagined that the czar referred to himself, and, at once appropriating the compliment, bowed himself almost to the earth, and was preparing to thank the czar for so great evidence of his consideration, when the latter resumed, striking his breast at the same moment, "Don't trouble yourself; that person who does not rob is *myself*! I am the only person throughout my whole empire, who does not steal!"

The other favourable feature in the administration of Nicholas, was his exertions, on several occasions, to benefit the condition of the *serfs*, throughout his empire.

By the provisions of the Russian code, the condition of the serfs is a very degraded one; and the reality fully carries out the theory of the law. By Article 964 of that code, it is enacted, that "a nobleman has the right of imposing on his serfs all kinds of work, and pecuniary, personal, and other fines. He has the right of making his serf change

his condition as a servant for that of an agricultural labourer, or that of an agricultural labourer for that of a servant, or of putting him out to service at a stranger's."

Article 965 enacts, that "the master determines all differences without appeal. To keep his slaves in a state of the most passive obedience, he has the right of employing all means of correction, and whatever unusual punishments he may deem necessary. He can even send them to Siberia, accompanied by their wives and children, under six years for the males, and ten years for the females. He has the right of transporting the whole or part of his slaves from one estate to another; that is to say, from north to south, from east to west, and *vice versa*. For this removal, the boyards must pay the crown for a permit."

Article 950 reads thus: "If a serf, contrary to the obedience which he owes his master, takes the liberty of preferring against the latter an unauthorized complaint, and especially if he dares to make it to the emperor himself, he shall, as suppliant and author of the complaint, be punished with the utmost rigour of the laws."

Such are some of the enormities, protected by law, which exist in Russia, against the rights of forty millions of human beings. In 1839, great ex-

citement was caused throughout the empire, by the report that Nicholas had determined to enfranchise the serfs. The nobles, whose entire wealth, in many instances, consisted in their slaves, were thrown into the greatest consternation; and the threatened poverty and ruin which seemed to overhang the higher orders of the nation, were about to cause the outbreak of a formidable revolution against the life of the czar; when suddenly a ukase appeared.

It contained a clause which decreed, that hereafter every *farming lease* or other contract which was made and executed between a noble and his serf, should be binding on the noble, as well as on the serf.

This was granting something of importance; for, previous to this decree, the serf possessed no right whatever, to contract in any way, either with his master, or with any one else. But it is said, that after all, this provision did not amount to a great deal; because the ukase did not provide any means whereby to enforce the execution of contracts, on the part of the nobles. Accordingly, the serfs soon came to regard the ukase as a dead letter; and refused to enter into contracts with their owners, as long as there was no certainty or security of their execution. The ukase, at its first publication, was regarded as a matter of vast moment. Afterward it

was treated as a nullity, by both the parties whose interests it affected. In fact the mountain had laboured, but it had brought forth a mouse!

The spirit of discontent among the nobles and aristocracy of the empire, which the action of Nicholas respecting the serfs, had generated, was not allayed; but from the year 1839, that spirit continued secretly and cautiously to grow, and was only prevented from immediately bursting forth, by the great dread which the well-known intrepidity, and the terrible vindictiveness, of the czar continually inspired.

The conspirators carried on their designs in the greatest secrecy. On one occasion the leaders assembled at Baden-Baden, in Germany; and there, under the pretence of improving their health, they held frequent meetings. This conspiracy comprised among its members, high officers of state, generals of distinction in the army, senators, and men of letters. They gave the czar a nickname,—and not the most complimentary one,—in order that they might speak in reference to him with less danger. In 1840, the feeling of jealousy among the ancient aristocracy or higher Russian nobility grew so strong, that the death of the czar had then been resolved upon. But still, the conspirators were not sufficiently desperate or resolute, at that time, to execute the

bloody and fearful deed. Their plan was, however, that when Nicholas was assassinated, they would compel Alexander II., his successor and son, to sign an act of indemnity, and to grant a constitution to his subjects, by which the colossal power of the czar might be curbed and diminished. From the year 1839 to 1848, Nicholas, who was fully aware of this state of feeling among the nobles, frequently and defiantly threw down the gauntlet to them, and treated them with the greatest disdain and contempt. He seemed to wish to make them more desperate, and to drive them to extremities. He wounded their pride, by opening the university and the public schools, and the branches of the administration, to all suitable persons, whether they were noblemen, or tradesmen, or emancipated serfs. During nine years, he may be said to have lived in continual danger. People who knew the real facts, expected every day to hear of the violent death of the czar. Two hostile parties stood facing each other; and the moment of the outbreak was unknown. These were the feudal nobility, jealous of the great power of the Romanoffs, who had been elected originally from among themselves, to the dignity of the czarship, and who were therefore, in one sense, only *primi inter pares*. The other party was the vast and powerful order of the *Tchinn*, or

the official dignitaries throughout the empire, both in the army, the navy, the church, and in the civil government. At the top of this vast and towering pyramid, Nicholas himself stood, having the sole appointing power, and every member of it being his own creature. Many of the principal foreigners at St. Petersburg, during this interval, had so positively expected the outbreak of the revolution, that they had taken measures of escaping into Finland. They introduced the use of decked boats on the Neva, and of boating clubs; so that under the pretence of learning how to manage their craft, they had opportunities of becoming familiar with the navigation about Cronstadt, and the islands which lie near the coast of Finland, in order that they might on some sudden and terrible emergency, reach that country in safety.

Accordingly, two opposite sentiments existed throughout the empire, in reference to Nicholas. The serfs and the lower orders esteemed him as their friend, as far as the nature of existing circumstances would permit. The nobility regarded him with dislike, although they carefully concealed their feelings. But they looked upon him as one of themselves, who had been elevated merely by accident above them, and invested with a prodigious degree of power, which made him the abso-

lute master of their lives and fortunes; and which power he exercised with insulting hauteur and severity.

At length, in 1848, two causes succeeded in suppressing the spirit of revolt against the life and throne of Nicholas, which, for nine years, had lurked throughout the empire. These were first, the intrepid character of the czar, and his military success in Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Hungary; the second, was the outbreak of the socialistic revolutions in Western Europe, in that year. The nobles of Russia thought that, if such results followed the spirit of reform and revolution, as it at that time existed and operated throughout Europe, their effect in Russia would be as disastrous to the interests of the aristocracy, as it would be to the monarchy; and they permitted their schemes gradually to die out. What the consequences of a revolution against Nicholas would have been, it would be difficult to say. It is certain, however, that he would have presented a vastly more formidable resistance to the agents of revolt than any of his imbecile ancestors had ever done; and that, after a most terrible and desperate struggle, he would have resigned his throne and empire only with his life.

There were some traits of paternal benevolence

in the conduct of Nicholas, which it would be unjust to his memory to suppress. On one occasion, a young officer, of high and illustrious family, lost all his patrimony by gambling. He had even lost the money belonging to his regiment, which he had in his custody. Four alternatives alone remained upon this consummation of his ruin. These were either suicide, degradation from his rank, Siberia, or recourse to the emperor. He resolved upon the last. He went to the palace, and confided his situation and request to an aide-de-camp of Nicholas, who conveyed them to the czar. As soon as the latter heard the facts he exclaimed, "Enough! enough! do not pronounce his name, for if I knew it I ought to punish him." Then opening a drawer in his bureau, he took out 30,000 rubles, and handed them to his aide-de-camp, saying, "There, give him that, and never let the matter be mentioned to me again."

A singular circumstance is also related in reference to Nicholas, which would seem to imply that he was a blind believer in destiny or in fate. Every morning all the letters which had arrived in the post were brought to his cabinet. They were then opened and examined in his presence by his secretaries; he never touched one of them himself. Many of the letters, whose contents were deemed

trivial, were thrown aside by these functionaries; the more important ones alone were submitted to the attention of the czar.

One day, while thus engaged, the czar rose to look for a private paper lying in his bureau. He could not, for some minutes, find it, and became quite impatient. During all this interval, to each of the letters read by his secretary, he answered—*Refused*. At length, having found the paper for which he was searching, he answered to every one of the letters which followed—*Granted*.

When the task was concluded the secretary said, "Will your majesty permit me to make an observation?" "Certainly; what is it?" "Just now your majesty was looking for a paper, and while so doing you refused some dozen petitions. Will your majesty permit me to read them again?" "No: I refused to grant them;—it was the will of God. It was *fated* so to happen. I have no doubt I decided them rightly; and I maintain what I have done!"

During 1848, when the cholera again visited St. Petersburg, Nicholas displayed the utmost intrepidity. Two or three thousand victims fell every day beneath the power of the scourge. The emperor did not fly, although in four days, applications were made for eighty thousand passports. The city

became deserted. Out of 450,000 inhabitants 100,000 alone remained. The streets were strewed with corpses, and encumbered with dying persons. Nicholas traversed the city on foot, accompanied by one aide-de-camp; visited the hospitals and the barracks, and displayed the utmost intrepidity in assisting his afflicted subjects.

But notwithstanding these favourable traits, on the subject of political freedom he was an unmitigated tyrant. The following incident will add another to the innumerable proofs already in existence in support of this assertion.

By his orders, the letters of all foreigners, residing in Russia, were invariably opened by the police, and their contents were reported to him, if important. Some years since, a French officer of distinction visited St. Petersburg. He had been in the capital about two weeks, going everywhere and seeing every thing, when, one morning, a police officer suddenly entered his apartment, and asked if he had the honour of addressing Monsieur V.? Being answered in the affirmative, the officer continued: "The Emperor of Russia, having learned indirectly that you carry on an active correspondence with your relations in Paris, in which you express, rather freely, your unfavourable opinion of affairs in

Russia, charges me to inform you, that as your letters might be lost upon the road, he thinks it more prudent for you to take them yourself. Here are your letters; a carriage and horses await you at the door. In two hours you will have your trunks packed, and we will set out."

The Frenchman, perceiving the ironical tone of the officer, instantly, and with great presence of mind, imitated it, and said, "His majesty only anticipates my own wishes. I was on the point of leaving his dominions; my only regret will be, that I shall leave without having had the pleasure of seeing the czar." "For that matter," continued the officer, "while *we* are preparing your trunks, I will send to learn his majesty's orders." He instantly wrote a note to the palace, and sent it by a Cossack in attendance. In half an hour the Cossack returned. The czar had written two lines at the bottom of the note: "Granted; to-morrow at ten, in the Michael Riding School." On the morrow, the police officer returned with a carriage; the baggage was stowed away, and the Frenchman and officer entered. The carriage was driven to the riding-school. There the Frenchman saw the czar inspecting a regiment of infantry. The review being ended, the former was rapidly driven from the capital to the frontier; and there deposited in

the middle of the road, together with his baggage, at one o'clock in the morning, in the coldest weather of winter. The police officer then said, that his Russian majesty had only undertaken the responsibility of conveying Mons. V. to the frontiers of his own dominions; the King of Prussia must now see that Mons. V. was conveyed farther toward Paris! The Russian officer immediately drove off, and returned to St. Petersburg, leaving the Frenchman in his disagreeable position. The latter might, in truth, have vehemently congratulated himself, that he had escaped with so lenient a punishment, for the rash utterance of his republican sentiments, in the dominions of the despotic czar.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PECULIAR TALENT POSSESSED BY NICHOLAS — HIS FAVOURITE MINISTERS — COUNT KLEINMICHEL — COUNT KAKOSHKINE — THE THIEVISH NOBLEMAN — PRINCE TCHERNICHEF — HATRED OF NICHOLAS TO LOUIS PHILIPPE — THE IMPERIAL NURSERY — THE DUKE OF LEUCHTENSTEIN — CONDUCT OF NICHOLAS TOWARD THE CITY OF ABO — LIBRARY OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE — THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS — ABSOLUTISM SOMETIMES USEFUL IN RUSSIA.

THERE are some writers who assert, that Nicholas I. was the ablest sovereign who has wielded the sceptre of the czars since the reign of Peter the Great. This opinion is absurd; because it must not be forgotten that the mighty and comprehensive genius of Catherine II. occupied and filled that dizzy and dangerous eminence, with a degree of success and triumph which far surpass any thing of which Nicholas, in his most presumptuous mood, could ever boast.

Nevertheless, Nicholas was a man of signal ability, in one peculiar department of the science of government, though that department is by no means the highest or the most difficult. His administrative talents were very great; and the plain, clear, and sagacious common-sense which he pos-

sessed,—combined with his unyielding pertinacity, obstinacy, and self-confidence,—enabled him, during the progress of his long reign of thirty years, not only to carry forward his vast plans of aggression against his weaker neighbours, but also to introduce the utmost uniformity, order, and regularity into the administration of every portion of his heterogeneous empire. Hence it is that he has, with considerable truth, been termed the *first policeman* of his empire, and the *first drill-sergeant* of his army. During his reign, the commerce of Russia has been greatly increased. The arts have been fostered and encouraged. Public order and credit have been maintained. Civilization has advanced and extended among the lower, as well as among the higher, classes of his subjects; so that the stigma of “Russian barbarism,” which was once so universally applied to that empire, is now scarcely an appropriate epithet in reference to any considerable portion of its present inhabitants.

Many of the evils which attended the reign of Nicholas were attributable, not so much to any defect of character in the sovereign, as to the worthlessness of many of his most eminent and influential servants, who successfully blinded their master as to their own real turpitude. One of the

most reprehensible of these was Count Kleinmichel; who is represented as being a person of the most degraded character, yet who possessed, for many years, the confidence of the czar. This man obtained and held his post, by bowing most obsequiously to the imperial will; by pandering industriously to the pleasures of the monarch; and by the total absence of all honour and scruple in his execution of the wishes of his despotic master. The author of an able work on Russia,* in speaking of this nobleman, narrates the following incident. It may be thought that the emperor was deceived in this man's character. Scarcely can this be so. Kleinmichel, as he rose in influence, bitterly resented some insult which he had received from Paskiewitch. Afterward, on the elevation of the latter to the rank of field-marshal, and to the highest of the fourteen classes of nobility, (*the Tchinn*,) he came to St. Petersburg. According to etiquette, it became the duty of Kleinmichel to call on Paskiewitch; and Nicholas, in a familiar conversation with his favourite, reminded him of that duty. Kleinmichel immediately replied, that he had already called on the field-marshal that very morning. As Kleinmichel

* Eastern Europe, vol. iii. p. 47.

was taking his leave, however, Paskiewitch entered the imperial apartment; and during the conversation which ensued, the fact came out, that the favourite had *not* yet visited Paskiewitch. Nicholas instantly sent for Kleinmichel; demanded an explanation; and the latter, at once discovering that he had been detected in falsehood, humbly replied, "*Vinabat*, I have erred." Nicholas ordered him under arrest for several days, and then received him again into his full favour and confidence.

This expression, *vinabat*, seemed to have been a favourite with this nobleman; for when secretary to Arakchieff, the founder of the celebrated, but unsuccessful, military colonies of the czar, an important document was lost, which had been confided to the keeping of Kleinmichel. The anger of Arakchieff was intensely aroused; he fiercely abused Kleinmichel, and then commanding him to come nearer, he spat into his face. Kleinmichel bowed his head, calmly wiped his insulted visage, and said, with the utmost humility, "*Vinabat!*"

Another favourite of the Emperor Nicholas was Count Kakoshkine, chief of the civil police office. The following authentic incident, in this man's life, will indicate his true character. A very respectable Pole had the sum of ten thousand ru-

bles stolen from his private drawer, which the thief had broken open. The latter was on good terms with the police, and the produce of the robbery was divided between them. The thief then brought an accusation against the loser of the money; and both—the accuser and the accused—were imprisoned on their respective charges. In a few days the thief was released; but the Pole was detained in prison for a whole year, without being able to obtain a trial. At length, after extraordinary exertions, the case was examined by the judge of the district. The police then informed the Pole, that the man who committed the robbery was dead; and he was then himself discharged on bail, without being able to find any trace of his lost money; but discharged in such a conditional way, that he was liable to be re-arrested at any moment, in case he made an inconvenient noise upon the subject. Such is Russian justice in a great majority of cases!

We may cite another instance. Among the persons who frequented the chief market of St. Petersburg, was a nobleman, who had contracted a constant habit of pilfering. In one of the booths of the market, a young woman vended a peculiar and attractive style of handkerchief. The shopkeeper soon began to find, that her stock of these hand-

kerchiefs mysteriously disappeared. Her opposite neighbour—an honest countryman, who sold provisions—gave her to understand that he knew what became of her goods. From his position, across the street, he had seen this nobleman secreting these handkerchiefs under the ample folds of his garment. The countryman informed the shopkeeper of this fact. The latter exclaimed, “He is a prince! Say no more about it! We will only get into trouble!” “I not speak?” answered the farmer. “But I will speak. I will see if there is any justice in Russia!” Accordingly, the next time the noble made his appearance, the farmer watched him; and as soon as he had secreted another handkerchief, the farmer came forward, denounced the thief, and pulled forth from the place of its concealment the stolen article. The affair, which had excited the attention of the crowd, had become too public to be entirely overlooked. Accordingly, the thief and his accuser retired with the police to the place of hearing. The witness briefly stated what he had seen, and was then dismissed to his shop. Three days afterward the farmer disappeared, and was never seen again; and in a few days more, the young woman, whose goods had been stolen by this titled and polished robber, shared a similarly myste-

rious fate. This event occurred in the capital itself, and not in some distant and ill-governed province, where the sources of justice were remote, but where the minister of police, and even the sovereign himself, were easily accessible.

A third favourite of Nicholas was Prince Tchernichef, the minister of war. This man, when very young, first obtained distinction, as an attaché of the Russian legation at Paris, in 1812. He discovered beforehand the meditated invasion of Russia by Napoleon; and through the treachery of four Jews connected with the foreign office in Paris, he succeeded in obtaining a plan of the campaign, with which invaluable treasure he instantly started for St. Petersburg.

He was a relative of that Tchernichef, who was implicated in the conspiracy against Nicholas at the period of his accession; and after the punishment of that offender, the czar desired that the favourite should be put in possession of his forfeited estates. Accordingly, the sovereign requested the mother of the culprit to adopt his namesake. The lady replied, that she would willingly receive him as an aide-de-camp of her emperor, but could never regard him as a relative. During the Polish war, Tchernichef was the undoubted cause of the failure of General Diebitsch, in his movements and conflicts

with the heroic Poles. Tchernichef was the personal enemy of Diebitsch; and as minister of war he succeeded in thwarting all the wisest and ablest efforts of that general. He withheld from him the necessary reinforcements, both of men and of provisions, at the most critical and important moments. He was in fact the cause of the total discomfiture of Diebitsch, of his grievous mortifications, and eventually even of his death; which was either produced directly by poison, administered by Count Orloff' at his instance, or by the drunkenness which was superinduced by his despair. General Diebitsch represented the German faction in the court and capital. General Paskiewitch was the head of the Russian. They were men of equal talent and experience. But the career of the one was cut off prematurely in the midst of disgrace and ignominy, by the deadly agency of malice invested with power; while the glory of the other was enhanced and prolonged, by the fortunate possession of official favour and influence, in its nature equally partial and undeserved.

One of the peculiarities of Nicholas was his unflinching hostility to France. While he admired the martial traits of the character of the great Napoleon, he hated the French court and nation with a "perfect hatred;" and never forgave the miseries

and indignities formerly heaped upon Russia, by the French conqueror and his countrymen. On the accession of Louis Philippe, it required all the influence of Nesselrode* to restrain the czar from

* The following remarks on the life of the celebrated Prince Nesselrode, so long the prime minister of Nicholas, may interest the reader: Golovine tells us that he was born within sight of Lisbon, on board an English ship, of German parents in the Russian service; for which reason he ironically observes that four powers might claim the glory of possessing him among their subjects. He was first remarked at the time of the Russian mission to the French First Consul, and elevated to power during the invasion of Russia in 1812; and having so long presided over the policy of a vast and ambitious empire, he is ranked in general estimation throughout Europe among cabinet celebrities with Talleyrand and Metternich. Nevertheless, says that author, between the astuteness and talent of Metternich and Nesselrode, and the power which each has exercised, there lies a world of difference. While Metternich has governed, and governs, an empire like a sovereign, Nesselrode has never been more than the chief of his department. The knowledge acquired by a hard-working minister, during more than a quarter of a century, of all the tortuous secrets of his cabinet, and treasured by a retentive memory, have made him too valuable a servitor to discard; particularly when adding, as he does, to this qualification a perfect pliancy to the will of his master.

Among the other favourites of Nicholas, Count Orloff held a prominent place. There is a mistaken notion in the minds of many, that Count Orloff, the friend and confidant of the emperor, was the grandson of the conspirator Gregory Orloff, the favourite of Catherine II., and one of the principal actors in the terrible tragedy of Peter III.; and the name being thus associated with treason and murder, it is easy to imagine the effect produced on those who are not correctly informed on the subject.

The present Orloff, of whom we have heard so much, was not the grandson of Count Gregory Orloff, but a son of Count Foëdor Grigoriévitch, a younger brother of the former, who died at Moscow in 1796,

sending to the French king a letter so insulting, that it would have immediately produced a war between the two countries. As it was, the missive of Nicholas to Louis Philippe, acknowledging his accession to the throne, was exceedingly haughty in its style, and deficient even in the usual expressions of formal courtesy. The letter of the French monarch to Nicholas, began with the friendly and customary phrase between sovereigns: *Monsieur mon Frère*, (Sir, my Brother.) In his reply, Nicholas omitted these words; and the whole tone of the communication was sarcastic and contemptuous in the extreme. Yet Louis Philippe had the good sense to overlook the irritating conduct of the czar, in order to secure to France the blessings of peace.

Even with regard to the domestic character of Nicholas, in reference to which, it might be supposed, there could be no difference of opinion,

without any legitimate heirs, but leaving several natural children, who were ennobled by Catherine, the name of Orloff being also conferred on them. The present Count Alexis Foëdorovitch Orloff was born in 1787, and early obtained promotion in the army. In 1825, he was the first to hasten to the place of the Winter Palace, with his five regiments of horse-guards, on the day of revolt; and this important service laid the foundation of the favour he has since enjoyed. He is said by many to combine with superior intelligence, great firmness of mind, and the most honourable character; and, in that case, we may believe that he would treat lightly the title of *poisoner* which slander has attempted to attach to his name.

conflicting sentiments really exist. It is generally supposed that he was a most excellent father and husband. A recent traveller, speaking of the imperial palace at St. Petersburg, describes what he saw of the nursery of the Grand Duke, now the Czar, Alexander. In 1841, he was married to a princess of Hesse; and four sons are the fruit of their union. In the imperial nursery, these children were at play. It was a large, lofty, and handsome room, containing little furniture, but filled with all kinds of toys,—carts, hobby-horses, sentry-boxes, wheels, soldiers, sledges, and every thing which could interest the youthful princes. The emperor Nicholas was present; and the deep interest which he displayed in the sports and noisy diversions of the children, indicated the possession of a degree of sympathy and pleasure in the amusements of his grandchildren, which was highly creditable to the sovereign.

On the other hand, his domestic despotism is said to have been as absolute as his political. He regulated the dress, occupation, visits, and every thing connected with the imperial family, with the utmost rigour and minuteness, as if the palace was a barrack. He kept the empress in a continual state of representation; compelling her to endure a constant and wearisome round of stately ceremonies.

The Duke of Leuchtenberg, his son-in-law, was actually arrested several times, by the czar's command, for not having his coat buttoned according to rule! Nicholas also treated it as an act of *lèse-majesté*, for the young duke to enter the apartments of his wife, and sit down beside her in his *robe-de-chambre*. The czar once became quite enraged when he beheld the duke smoking by the side of the princess. He reprimanded him severely for this heinous offence; and in truth he governed his whole family precisely as if he thought the imperial household to have been constantly on parade! The Duke of Leuchtenberg has left on record his opinion of the condition of the members of the imperial family. The proposition was discussed at one time, by the court, of arranging a marriage between the Duke of Bordeaux, and one of the daughters of the czar. The project was soon thrown aside; and the Duke of Leuchtenberg, in conversation with a French nobleman shortly afterward, said: "Let the Duke of Bordeaux thank heaven, that he has not been fated to share the cage in which I vegetate!" The marriage between the grand duchess, daughter of Nicholas, and the Duke of Leuchtenberg, was one of real affection between the parties. Nicholas would have opposed and prevented it, had it not been for the fact, that the desperate attachment of

the princess to the handsome and graceful Beauharnais, actually endangered her health and life; and that the princess, upon her knees, and with floods of tears, besought her father to bestow his consent upon a union, on which her happiness, and even her existence, depended.*

During the latter years of his life, the mind of Nicholas became saddened by the various disappointments which he had endured during his reign, and by an increasing consciousness of many evils existing among his subjects, which he had laboured in vain to eradicate. He gradually became sombre and morose. His mental faculties even were deficient in power; and he did not display the same sagacity and penetration which had characterized his measures at an earlier period of his reign. The bitter calumnies of his political enemies, and the slumbering hostility of the nobles, which secretly

* The Grand Duchess Olga, born in 1822, was married in 1846 to Charles, Prince Royal of Wurtemberg.

The young Grand Duke Constantine, who is high-admiral of the Russian fleets, born in 1827, was married in 1848 to the Princess Alexandra, daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Altenburg.

The younger grand dukes, Nicholas and Michael, have not as yet contracted any matrimonial alliances. The elder grand duke, Michael, brother of the emperor, is married to the Princess Helena, daughter of the Prince Paul of Wurtemberg, brother to the king; and their daughter, the young Grand Duchess Catherine, was married in 1851 to George, Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz

burned with the hidden intensity of a suppressed volcano, disturbed and irritated him. Though a man of dauntless fortitude, it was observed that he was continually moving about from place to place. He travelled a great deal, and very quickly. Rest and delay appeared to be tiresome to him. Thought and reflection seemed to be in danger of driving him mad. The blood of his murdered predecessors still deeply stained the steps of the throne, and struck terror into his own soul, in apprehension of meeting a similar fate. His sleeping apartment was guarded at night by gigantic Cossacks; and he established a system of espionage, even within the precincts of his own palace. The most terrible apprehension, however, which distressed him during his latter years, was the well-grounded fear of madness. Many members of the Romanoff dynasty had been afflicted by this malady. The Emperor Paul had become deranged, long before the occurrence of the fearful catastrophe which ended his life. Peter III. had been similarly afflicted during his latter years. Many other members of this illustrious house had been more or less subject to the derangement of their intellects. And Nicholas himself was not without apprehensions that he too might eventually inherit their fate. Though he remained free from madness, or even derangement of mind, his

spirits became overclouded by a settled melancholy. Severity and moroseness followed, as the result of this trait; and these, in their turn, threw back upon him the repulsive shade produced by them upon the minds of others.

In fact, Nicholas had become at length fully conscious that he had not reigned in such a manner as to have won, or even to have deserved, the affection of his subjects, however much he may have inspired them with terror.

The truth of this assertion may be proved by reference to his acts of general legislation, as well as by those referring to individuals. Thus, for instance, his treatment of the city of Abo, the renowned and ancient capital of Finland, was such as to turn each one of its inhabitants into a determined foe. Finland had once been a flourishing and happy province of Sweden. Having been at length transferred, by mingled force and fraud, to the Russian sceptre, it became, from its contiguity to Sweden, an object of suspicion and dislike to the czar. Gustavus Adolphus had given to this ancient city a gymnasium; and Queen Christina had erected there a university, endowed with ample funds, and an extensive and valuable library. Nicholas despoiled Abo of all her privileges as a capital, and deprived her of her university, her library, of her

scientific collections, and of every thing which distinguished and adorned her. Helsingfors became heir to the imperial favour, and to all the advantages of which Abo had been robbed. The sole reason for this conduct on the part of the czar was the fact that Abo was too near to Stockholm; that by her former associations and her literary connections, she would remain too much under Swedish influence. Her commerce even with the neighbouring Swedish provinces, was so trammelled as to destroy it entirely; and Abo, thus shorn of all her literary, social, and commercial advantages, by the selfish and unscrupulous policy of the czar, fell from her high state of prosperity to one of abject languor and decrepitude. The history and fate of Abo clearly demonstrate, that no considerations of justice or humanity ever influenced the policy of Nicholas, in the administration of his empire.

In spite of his own indifference to the advancement of literature among his subjects, St. Petersburg possesses some valuable literary treasures, the acquisition of which is not due, however, to his exertions. The imperial library contains 400,000 volumes, which have been collected *by conquest* from various countries, including Persia and Poland. Suwarrow, during the reign of Catherine II., seized 300,000 volumes. During the last war with Poland,

Paskiewitch obtained possession of 100,000 more. During the reign of terror in France, the sagacious Catherine despatched an agent to Paris, who purchased at low prices the confiscated libraries of the nobility. By these means vast multitudes of valuable works were obtained, and transferred to St. Petersburg. On the endless shelves which contain the imperial library, there are 120 folio volumes of letters from French princes and sovereigns. There are 150 volumes of autographs of celebrated persons, including those of ministers, ambassadors, generals, prelates, poets, and even kings, of France. Among these is a sheet of paper, on which Louis XIV. had written six times successively, and in a large hand, these words, so consonant with his own absolute feelings and principles: "Homage is due to kings; they do whatever they please."

All the treasures of this vast library are useless to the nation. The circulation of books, especially on religious subjects, is very much circumscribed. Nicholas adopted this policy on the ground that it was necessary to "cut off the evil at the root;" and as literature was the alleged source of infidelity and heresy in religion; of democracy and the desire of liberty in politics; and of a love of progress and change in reference to society, it must be condemned, crushed, and extirpated! Prince Dolgo

rouki and Count Golovin, while residing in Paris, published several works on political economy, without the permission of the czar. The latter was highly incensed at such unwarrantable boldness; and both noblemen were instantly recalled. Prince Dolgorouki obeyed. Count Golovin was then too ill to travel. The latter was condemned by the czar to lose his property and rank, and was declared guilty of high treason. He remained in Paris, and published another work,* in which he enlightened the world as to the true state of despotism in Russia, under Nicholas. Among many other profound and truthful sentiments uttered by him in reference to his despotic sovereign, the following deserve especial notice:—"Nicholas is tyrannical, not by nature, but by conviction. He is convinced that if he governed in any other way, his empire would not prosper as much as it does. This manner of governing has now become a settled habit with him, and he has at length learned to take pleasure in acts of arbitrary despotism. To reign over Russia, the Russians themselves declare, a sovereign must possess an iron hand. True; but still, this hand should be gloved. The hand of Nicholas is one of iron; but he has forgotten the glove."

* *La Russie sous Nicholas I.*: par Ivan Golovin, Paris.

Nicholas has made the censorship over the press so strict, as almost entirely to suppress its influence and existence. Recent Russian literature has accordingly become little more than the production of a few tales, of comedies translated from the French, and of scientific works taken from other languages. The course of studies taught in the Russian universities is such as comports with the limited ideas of the czar, with reference to liberal learning. The University of Dorpat has produced several men who are eminent in astronomy. The University of St. Petersburg has won a name in the department of archæology; and the few monuments of antiquity which exist within the limits of the empire, Nicholas has carefully collected, preserved, and illustrated. But this ends the brief and barren history of what Nicholas has done, for the higher branches of learning, among his subjects.

→ With great truth may it be said, as the prominent feature of the reign of Nicholas, that his empire, his army, his court, his family,—all were overgoverned. Nicholas seemed to have had no conception whatever, of the great republican doctrine of the capability of mankind for self-government. The absence of a despotic sceptre, he seemed to regard as the greatest calamity which could possibly befall any nation; as an evil only to be equalled by the

presence and possession of popular and democratic liberty.

It must be confessed, that there was some excuse for entertaining such a sentiment, in a nation so generally mercenary and fraudulent, as that over which Nicholas reigned. The truth of this remark will be illustrated by the following incident:—

At an early period of his reign, the emperor held as usual a grand review of his army at his magnificent chateau of Tsarsko-Selo. His position was in front of his far-extending lines, in the centre. He was surrounded by his brilliant staff. A more imposing display of military splendour was probably never witnessed, than that which the admirably-drilled and accoutred army of the czar then presented. At that moment four peasants, or *moujiks*, clad in the rude costume of their order, with long beards and wearing caftans, advanced from the crowd, approached a superior officer, and demanded to be allowed to address the emperor. This extraordinary request was at once refused; but the peasants persisted, and declared that they had a matter of the utmost importance to communicate to the sovereign.

At this moment, Nicholas himself perceived the peasants and the officer, thus engaged in conversation; and the novelty of the incident, on such an

occasion, excited his curiosity. He ordered them to be brought into his presence. The whole party immediately approached. The peasants bowed to the ground. One of them then boldly spoke. He and his associates had just discovered the most incredible depredations, which had been committed at the fortress of Cronstadt, by some of the officers stationed there. They declared that at that moment the bazaar of the capital was crowded with goods that belonged to the crown, with rigging, ironwork, copper lining, anchors, cables, and even cannon, and a thousand other things, which had been stolen from the fortress and the fleet, and were then heaped up in the shops, exposed to sale.

Nicholas was astounded at this declaration, and in fact disbelieved it. He inquired of the boors, why they had not communicated this information to the officer, instead of persisting to see himself? They replied, that if they had done so, the information would never have reached his majesty; and they would also have been ruined by the persecution of the offenders. "Take care," responded the czar; "I will hold you responsible for the truth of what you say." He immediately ordered one of his officers to repair to Cronstadt with 300 men, and make investigations. The report of the officer was, that the declaration of the boors was true, to

the fullest extent. The indignation of Nicholas at this statement may readily be imagined; and he ordered the offenders to be immediately arrested, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour. The trial would have taken place in a few days; but during the interval between their arrest and their trial, a tremendous conflagration at Cronstadt destroyed the storehouses, and vast quantities of timber, rope, hemp, and tar; and by the devouring flames every possible proof was swept away, which could have established the guilt of the culprits. They consequently escaped; and their adroit and triumphant villany was permitted to remain unpunished, to achieve new triumphs in their nefarious work.

Innumerable instances of this kind, demonstrative of the national character, occurred during the reign of Nicholas; and hence it was that he felt compelled to rule with despotic rigour, over a nation of unscrupulous and deceitful men. The passion for governing, indeed, thus grew into a disease with him. It became a mental malady; in fact, it was his peculiar idiosyncrasy, to introduce uniformity, regularity, and unity, into every possible department of Russian life and activity. It had become his *monomania*. Once he visited the botanic garden's of the celebrated Professor Ledebuhr. He observed that all the flowerpots were not of the same size

and colour, and he said to the *savant*, "These flower-pots ought all to be alike;" meaning that they should look like soldiers on parade. "How could that be?" responded the learned professor, "unless the plants were all cut to the same size?" Nicholas replied: "Well, then, have them cut down. I like to see them all alike; they look much handsomer when they are all uniform, than when they are not!"*

* The truth of this incident is vouched for by the Rev. Henry Christmas, in his work on *Nicholas and Russia*: London, 1854.

CHAPTER XXI.

WAR IN THE CAUCASUS—ANCIENT HISTORY OF THAT COUNTRY—CHARACTER OF THE CAUCASIAN CHIEFS—VISIT OF NICHOLAS TO THE CAUCASUS IN 1847—INCIDENTS OF THE WAR IN THE CAUCASUS—SCHAMYL SUCCESSFULLY RESISTS THE RUSSIAN TROOPS—VISIT OF NICHOLAS TO WESTERN EUROPE IN 1844—INSURRECTION OF CRACOW IN 1846—HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION IN 1848.

HAVING dwelt thus long on the personal adventures and qualities of Nicholas, and on the internal administration of his empire, it is proper that we should now resume the narrative which appertains to the great and characteristic principle of his reign,—his insatiable thirst for conquest and aggression. He will now be seen actively engaged in a country, comparatively new to our history,—that of the Caucasus, or Circassia.

Nicholas pretended to claim jurisdiction over the whole region which extends between the Black and the Caspian Seas, the Kouban and Armenia. This region he termed the provinces of the Caucasus. It contains about two millions and a half of inhabitants. It is divided into three distinct provinces; but the most important are:—1. Geor-

gia, which is entirely subdued to the Russian authority; 2. Daghestan, the home of Schamyl, in the Eastern Caucasus; 3. Circassia, which, together with the province of Daghestan, never yet has been conquered by the armies of the czars, although the nefarious attempts of the latter to subjugate these noble mountaineers to their slavish yoke have been carried on, with short intervals, for the last fifty years.

In ancient times, the inhabitants of the Caucasus were remarkable for the same qualities which characterize them now. Herodotus and Strabo speak of them, as a bold and fearless people, who lived a semi-nomadic life, and who were unconquerable even by the veteran legions of Macedon and Rome. The shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus were invaded, and the Iberians and Albanians were subjugated, by the armies of Pompey; but they did not venture far into the mountains. North of these mountains, there are fertile and lovely plains, watered with the Kouban and Terek Rivers. The Circassian soil is everywhere fertile and productive. A great portion of their country is covered with primeval forests. The climate is hot in the valleys; but the plains beyond the mountains possess a more moderate and agreeable temperature.

The real boundary of Russia in these regions is

at Anapa, the most northerly point upon the eastern coast of the Black Sea. It is a celebrated fortress, originally built by the Turks, to protect their trade with the tribes of the Circassians, and which was ceded to Russia by the treaty of Yassy. The coasts of Circassia extend to the very walls of this fortress, along which the Russians, notwithstanding all their efforts and sacrifices, have only succeeded in establishing a few isolated forts, which are in continual danger of destruction from the sudden attacks of the mountaineers.

Nicholas tried the potency of bribes, when war and bloodshed failed, to seduce the brave Circassian chiefs to submit to the "protection" of Russia; and forty sons of the chiefs were once sent to St. Petersburg, in order to behold the greatness, and acquire the civilization, of the capital and people of Muscovy. But, notwithstanding the efforts of these youths to seduce their stern relatives to submission, their exertions have never met with any success. The handsome young Circassian chiefs were delighted with the voluptuous dissipations of the capital; but these were considerations which failed to convince the resolute heroes of the Caucasus, Schamyl and his devoted adherents; who, to this day, still defy both the seductive and the compulsory powers of the Russian autocrat.

Immediately after the treaty of Adrianople with Turkey, in 1829, Nicholas commenced a desultory warfare with the mountaineers of the Caucasus. He established a line of forts along the coast of the Black Sea, for the purpose of overawing the interior of the country. The hostile chiefs were exceedingly bold and defiant. An instance is recorded, in which one of them appeared alone before the gates of Anapa, abused the Russians, and defied them to single combat. Exasperated by his invectives, the commandant of the fortress ordered him to be fired at with grape-shot. The horse of the mountaineer reared, and threw his rider; but the latter instantly mounted again; approached still nearer to the walls; fired his pistol at point-blank distance at the soldiers, and then galloped off again unhurt to the mountains.

The Circassians repudiated those clauses of the treaty of Adrianople, which gave the czar his groundless pretence to jurisdiction over them; and they very justly denied that Turkey possessed any right whatever to sell, or Russia to purchase, that jurisdiction. They determined to resist to the utmost their subjugation to a powerful and pernicious foe. For some years, therefore, a conflict was carried on, during which the Circassians, under the guidance of the gifted Schamyl, performed prodigies

of valour; frequently defeated the detachments which were sent from the forts on the shores of the Black Sea to invade their mountains; and prevented the czar from acquiring any solid advantages over them.

In 1837, Nicholas visited the Caucasus in person. He determined to examine for himself the theatre of a war, which had been so unexpectedly disastrous to his plans of aggression. He invited the chiefs of the country to various conferences with him, protected by the parole of the Russian sovereign. They boldly repaired to his head-quarters at Anapa; but Nicholas, instead of conciliating them by words of kindness and moderation, exasperated them with threatening and insulting language, "Do you know," said he, "that I have powder enough to blow up all your mountains?"

During the three years which followed this visit of Nicholas to the Caucasus, he sent out a constant succession of detachments. Golovin, on the frontiers of Georgia, Grabe, on the north, and Racifsky on the Circassian seaboard, made every exertion to execute the peremptory orders of the czar, at once to crush and subjugate the rebellious mountaineers. In 1839, Grabe executed his famous expedition against Schamyl in the Eastern Caucasus. His army consisted of six thousand men. In three

months he lost one thousand soldiers, and a hundred and twenty officers, and was then compelled to retreat and entirely evacuate the country which he had invaded. All the expeditions sent against these people were successively defeated, by desultory attacks in the mountains, by ambuscades, and by the severities of the climate. All that the marauders could accomplish was the burning and destruction of a few villages. Wherever the nature of the ground gave the Russians an opportunity to employ their artillery, and to display their skill in engineering and the science of warfare, they were successful in beating their foe. But these opportunities were very rare; and during the rest of the campaign, the dauntless heroism of the Circassians, and their desultory attacks, continually vanquished the invaders.

The year 1840 was even more disastrous to the arms of Nicholas in the Caucasus. The Circassians succeeded in taking nearly all the new forts which the czar had erected on their coasts, even those best fortified by artillery. They intercepted the military road from the Kuban River to Gulandchik. They stormed and took Fort St. Nicholas, which commanded the road, and massacred the garrison. All the Black Sea garrisons were unfortunate; and the detachments sent into the interior

of the country were vanquished, and returned with desperate losses. The military colonies of Russia on the Terek were attacked and plundered. When General Golovin returned to his winter-quarters, at the end of this campaign, he had lost three-fourths of his troops.

The inhabitants of the Great Kabarda did not now remain any longer indifferent spectators of the offensive and defensive league which was formed by the resolute and unconquerable tribes of the Caucasus. They united with them; and when the Russian troops, in the next campaign, invaded their territories, the Russian general found the whole country turned into a desert, all the inhabitants having migrated to the other side of the Laba, and joined their warlike neighbours. And thus, until the present time, all the successive attempts of the Russian potentate to subjugate the free inhabitants of the Caucasus have been unavailing. At the death of Nicholas, after thirty years of disastrous warfare, these people remained as free as when his unprincipled aggressions first began. The forts of Anapa and Sudjuk-Kaleh are the only possessions which were held by the autocrat in the confines of the territory in which he had waged war for so many years, at the commencement of the present conflict in the East. Since then, active hostilities in the Caucasus have

been suspended, all the resources and the interests of the czar being concentrated upon the absorbing conflict between the nations now progressing in the Crimea. Prince Schamyl still remains the free, unconquered, temporal and spiritual lord of the Eastern Caucasus; and still, among the primeval gorges and hoary forests of those renowned mountains, he holds his mysterious court, marshals his heroic Circassians, sports with his beautiful Georgians, and bids defiance to the mighty arms of Russia, upon which he alone has inflicted the first reverses which they have ever suffered in the East, in modern times.

In 1844, Nicholas once more, and for the last time, visited the courts and countries of Western Europe. In the several capitals which he honoured with his presence, he was received with the distinguished consideration which was due to his exalted rank. He was an object of general interest wherever he appeared. His vast power, his historical importance, his magnificent equipage, and his lavish and expensive presents, all contributed to render him the object of universal curiosity, attention, and admiration. Especially in England, the handsome and accomplished czar created quite a sensation, both in the public mind, and more particularly in those high and courtly circles in which he moved in

a more private and reserved attitude. By those who then saw him, full of courtesy and urbanity, his countenance wreathed in smiles, and his eye beaming with gayety and benignity, it seemed impossible that they were gazing upon the most powerful, the most dangerous, and the most unscrupulous man in Europe; a man on account of whom, at that very moment, myriads of bitter tears were falling, and the desolated hearts of thousands were breaking, amid the horrid mines of Siberia, in the dangerous mountains of the Caucasus, or in the dark and gloomy recesses of dungeons and prisons.

In his private interviews with the English ministers, Nicholas clearly expressed those views respecting Turkey which he then pretended to entertain. He said to Lord Aberdeen, at that time premier of England, that the maintenance of the sultan in his existing independence, and in the extent of territory which he then possessed, was a great object in European policy. He held, that in order thus to maintain them, the several powers should abstain from making demands on the sultan, having selfish purposes in view, or which assumed an attitude of arrogant and exclusive dictation. He declared that, in case the sultan gave any of these powers just cause of complaint, that power should be aided by the rest, in its endeavours to have that cause re-

moved, in order that all occasion of future conflict might be obviated. He added, that in the event of any unforeseen calamity befalling the sultan, Russia and England should agree together; and that it would be wise and prudent for these two powers to anticipate, if possible, any such event, and to arrive at some previous arrangement in reference to it.

Such were the wise and conciliatory sentiments expressed by the czar during his visit to England. Ten years rolled away, and his opinions and policy had changed so amazingly, that on every point they were directly the opposite of those uttered by him to Lord Aberdeen, and even reiterated in a formal memorandum sent by the czar to the British cabinet, after his return to St. Petersburg; thus, as it were, putting on file a document calculated in the most direct manner, to convict himself either of the most barefaced hypocrisy and deceit, or else of the most despicable vacillation and instability of principle and of purpose.

In the beginning of the year 1846, an insurrection broke out in the small republic of Craeow. The existence and independence of this diminutive representative of ancient Poland had been established and guaranteed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The object of this ill-advised movement was the establishment of a socialistic order of

things,—the most lamentable, desperate, and ridiculous remedy ever proposed for the amelioration of political and social evils.

The revolutionists declared, in their published manifesto, that their intentions were as follows:—“Let us endeavour to establish a community, in which every man will enjoy the fruits of the earth according to his deserts and capacity. Let all privileges cease; and let those who are inferior in birth, intelligence, or physical strength, obtain without humiliation the unfailing assistance of *communism*, which will divide among all the absolute proprietorship of the soil, now enjoyed by a minority.”

This revolution was, in fact, nothing but an attempt on the part of the poor to get possession of the property of the rich. Accordingly, the peasantry displayed the principles which actuated them in pillaging and burning the mansions of the nobles, in murdering their wives and children, and in every act of lawless and savage depredation. Such was the terror inspired by an army of two thousand enraged Galicians, that the Austrian general, Collin, who had entered Cracow at the request of the Senate, to protect the community from the outrages of the disaffected, fled, accompanied by many of the most wealthy citizens.

Weisziewsky was then appointed dictator by the

insurgents, and he made some feeble preparations for holding possession of Cracow. But the principal inhabitants who remained opposed his movements in every way, and sent a deputation to treat with the Austrian general. While negotiations were progressing between these parties, Nicholas ordered a regiment of infantry, accompanied by Cossacks, to enter the city, and determine the dispute by its military occupancy. They soon obtained complete ascendancy over the insurgents, and the revolution was at an end.

Nicholas regarded this outbreak as an evidence, and a sudden revelation, of a widely prevalent spirit of republicanism and of revolution, which secretly pervaded Western Europe, and even portions of his own empire. This was the same movement which, in 1848, shook all the thrones and dynasties on the continent except his own. On the 11th of November, 1846, by his advice, and with his consent, the city and republic of Cracow were formally incorporated into the Austrian Empire. Thus was wiped away from the roll of nations, the last remnant of the once powerful and chivalrous Poland. And thus, too, did Russian monarchs more deeply dye themselves in the infamy of her partition, degradation, and ruin, than any other; for the first proposition hostile to the integrity and prosperity of Po-

land emanated from Catherine II., in 1763, and the last act of despotic power, which utterly extinguished her existence as a nation, was perpetrated by her successor, Nicholas, in 1846.

In 1848, a revolution against the authority of the sultan broke out at Bucharest; and, as might have been expected, the Russian autocrat embraced the opportunity to promote the secret ends of his policy, while pretending to interest himself only for the security and integrity of the authority of the sultan. He published a manifesto, dated July, 1848, in which he declared that, in conjunction with the sultan, he would "intervene" in the settlement of disturbances in the insurgent provinces, in order to prevent any efforts which might be made to impair the integrity or diminish the territories of the Ottoman Empire. The revolution was of insignificant consequence; but before the differences were adjusted between the sultan and his subjects, by the convention of Balta Liman, the czar had succeeded in obtruding his interests so prominently into the provisions of the treaty, that he not only convinced the Sublime Porte that he was determined to be recognised as a party in interest, *nolens volens*, wherever the sultan and his claims were involved; but actually succeeded in securing, by the treaty, a military position of great importance with reference to

the invasion of Hungary, which was his next project of ambition.

An opportunity to gratify his thirst for conquest and continual aggression,—and also the *last* one, in which the great autocrat was destined to be successful,—was afforded him, by the heroic revolution of the Hungarian patriots against Austrian tyranny, in 1849. Terrified by the magnitude of the forces commanded by the Hungarians, and by the unity and heroism displayed by the whole of that chivalrous nation at the beginning of the revolution, the Emperor of Austria eagerly besought assistance from Nicholas. The invitation was as eagerly accepted.

In May, 1849, Nicholas published a manifesto, in which he held the following language: “By our manifesto of last year, we informed our faithful subjects of the evils which had befallen Western Europe. We then declared our resolution to combat the enemies of order wherever they might be found; and of protecting the honour of the Russian name, and the inviolability of our frontiers. Since then, disturbances have continued in the east of Europe, in the principalities adjoining our empire,—in Wallachia and Moldavia. We have occupied those provinces with our troops, and order has been restored. But in Hungary,

the efforts of the Austrian government have, as yet, proved insufficient to crush the spirit of revolt. In the midst of his disasters, the Emperor of Austria has invited us to assist him against the common enemy. We cannot refuse to render him that service. After having invoked the God of battles to protect the righteous cause, we have ordered our armies to march to stifle the revolt, and to destroy the audacious anarchists, who disturb the repose of these provinces. Let God be with us, and none can resist us. Such are not only our own sentiments, but the sentiments of all our faithful subjects.”

In accordance with these declarations, Nicholas ordered Marshal Paskiewitch to advance with an army of 100,000 men upon Hungary. We will not narrate the details of the memorable battles which ensued, between the brave Magyars and the minions of the Russian tyrant. So much heroic desperation was exhibited by the former, that, after a series of bloody conflicts, in which both Russians and Austrians had been successively worsted, and victory had crowned the standards of the patriots, it became probable that the Russian army under Paskiewitch would, at length, have been annihilated, had not the traitor Gôrgei, immediately on his accession to the command of the chief army of the

Hungarians, betrayed his sacred trust. On the 10th of August, 1849, he despatched a letter to General Rüdiger, stating that he was ready to lay down his arms unconditionally. Accordingly, he delivered into the hands of his country's implacable foes an army of 30,000 unconquered veterans, with one hundred and forty pieces of heavy artillery.

Immediately after this inglorious triumph of infamy, perfidy, and cupidity, on both sides, Nicholas proclaimed another manifesto, containing the following exultant sentiments: "Russia will fulfil her holy mission. In less than two months our brave troops, after numerous and brilliant victories in Transylvania and under the walls of Debreczin, have marched triumphantly from Galicia to Pesth, from Pesth to Arad, and from Moldavia to the Banat. The insurgents, conquered on every side, have laid down their arms before the Russian army, and begged for pardon. Having performed our promise, we have commanded our victorious troops to return within our empire. With gratitude to God, we exclaim from our inmost soul:—*Nobiscum Deus, audite populi et vincemini, quia nobiscum Deus!*"



Sevastopol before the War in the East.

CHAPTER XXII.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE CRIMEA—CURRENT OF MODERN EVENTS—CATHERINE II.—SHE SUBJUGATES THE CRIMEA—ORIGIN OF SEVASTOPOL—NICHOLAS DETERMINES TO COMMENCE THE CONQUEST OF TURKEY—HIS SENTIMENTS ON THE SUBJECT—HIS PRETEXTS ABOUT THE HOLY PLACES IN PALESTINE—HIS ULTIMATUM—THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR POWERS AT VIENNA—THE ULTIMATISSIMUM OF NICHOLAS—IT IS REJECTED BY THE TURKISH DIVAN—DECLARATION OF WAR BY NICHOLAS—HIS TROOPS ENTER THE PRINCIPALITIES—DECLARATION OF WAR BY THE SULTAN—OMAR PACHA—FEELINGS OF THE TURKISH NATION RESPECTING THE WAR.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that in this nineteenth century the mighty tide of human events is rushing back again, from the gold-burdened climes of the West, to those venerable scenes and landmarks in the East, which were renowned in ancient history and mythology; but which, for some ages past, have escaped the scrutiny, and lost the interest, of mankind.

Many cycles have revolved since the quiet shores of the Euxine became the scenes of war's tumultuous agitation. The triumphant legions of Alexander the Great, of Mithridates, and of Pompey,

there successively discovered a congenial resting-place in their wearied careers of conquest. Afterward, the ferocious cohorts of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, having devastated vast tracts of Asia, and spread desolation over half a continent, found themselves beneath the cool shades of the wooded vales of the Crimea; and there they also ceased their march of triumph.

In this same region, anciently termed the Tauric Chersonesus, Iphigenia, the beautiful daughter of Agamemnon, having fled in terror to escape the cruel execution of a desperate vow, became the high-priestess of her chaste protectress, Diana; erected a splendid temple to her solemn worship; and consecrated the land forever to the sublime religion and philosophy of Greece. And afterward, as age after age revolved, that fertile and delicious clime became, successively, the prey of the invading Greeks, the Romans, the Goths, the Tartars, and the Turks. At length, in the year 1774, the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, suddenly arousing herself from the voluptuous embraces of her fawning and pampered paramours, cast her ambitious eyes abroad over its rich valleys and fruit-covered plains; and she vowed that they should become incorporated into her vast empire. For a time she forgot, or at least suspended, her tender

and licentious dalliances, in order to obey the promptings of a sterner and perhaps a nobler passion,—that of conquest and aggression. The policy which she adopted was the one to which the Muscovite sovereigns have ever been partial; she extended her protection first, she imposed her jurisdiction and supremacy afterward. She first induced the khans of the Crimea, by her secret emissaries, to resist the Turkish authority. A war then ensued between the sultan and his rebellious subjects. The Russian empress interfered; and, at length, stipulated for the independence of the Tartars from the Turkish yoke. The khans being thus free, she next provoked animosities and conflicts between them. She was again invited to interpose. She complied with the request of the khans; took their causes of dispute into consideration; and restored peace among them, by inducing the reigning khan, Sahim Gheray, to adopt Russian principles of government. This excited the rebellion of his subjects, as Catherine intended that it should; and he was forced to abdicate the throne. He was then dragged as a prisoner to an obscure Russian town; was delivered over to the Turks, and finally beheaded by them at Rhodes. Thus, the Crimea being left without a legitimate master, Russia easily assumed the sove-

reign power; and this lawless assumption Turkey was at last compelled to confirm and recognise, by the solemn treaty of 1784.

The Crimea being thus annexed to the Russian Empire, it was necessary to create a new metropolis for the new province. Prince Potempkin, then the minister of the triumphant empress, settled the question of the location of the capital, after a peculiar fashion of his own. He tossed up a coin, and Simferopol, the ancient capital, was destined still to retain that dignity. The seat of the new government was established there; large barracks were erected; and a strong garrison was placed in occupation of the works.

But still, the ambition of the invincible Catherine was not satiated. Imperial majesty and greatness were without an adequate representative among the cities of the southern extremity of her dominions. She must possess a fortress of sufficient magnitude to defend the Crimea from external attack, and as a formidable centre for her own future aggression. The old and obscure town of Akhtiar was found to offer very great advantages for such a purpose. Immediately an army of workmen were ordered thither; and enormous works were at once begun. New harbours were excavated. Immense arsenals were built. Colossal fortresses were constructed

Vast quantities of the munitions of war were accumulated. All the resources then possessed by the art of engineering were exhausted in the defence of the place, and in the construction of its works. A powerful and permanent garrison was stationed there, to overawe the sultan, and to protect Russian commerce in the Black Sea and the Dardanelles. And this new bulwark of Russian power, this grim portent of coming aggression, was then called Sevastopol,—a name which has since fallen heir to a world-wide, but an unfortunate celebrity. And soon the balmy shores of the Crimea became studded with the splendid palaces and sumptuous retreats of the nobility of the Russian capital; who became enamoured of its balmy skies, its delicious atmosphere, its fertile plains, and its beautiful scenery.

Nicholas I. had occupied the throne of the czars for nearly thirty years, when he seems to have come to the conclusion, that the period had at length arrived, when he should realize the glorious and crowning project of his life and ambition,—the final and complete subjugation of the throne of the Sultans to his own, and the incorporation of the European empire of the infidels into that of the orthodox believers.

That was in truth a sublime spectacle, presented by the powerful czar, as, seated in his

northern capital, he deliberately contemplated the achievement of this vast enterprise. That he never for a moment doubted the certainty of his complete success, will readily be admitted by all who are familiar with the stern character of Nicholas, with the imbecility of the sultan, and with the relative physical forces of their two empires. And this gorgeous dream of Oriental conquest was the same which had once fired the imagination of the aspiring Catherine; but which her sudden death had prevented her from attempting to realize. Alexander I. had been diverted from it, by his terrible conflicts with Napoleon. And now Nicholas, not less ambitious, and more powerful, than either, determined to emulate the fame of the Great Peter, the first founder of the empire, by himself deserving the equal title of its second, by adding to it the vast conquests which his triumphant arms would make, over the patrimony of the descendants of the False Prophet.

Never had a more gorgeous conception than this, inflamed the imagination, and elicited the abilities, of a conqueror. It would have thrown a halo of transcendent glory around his name, had he been the ultimate vanquisher of that once formidable and sanguinary power, which for so many ages had disturbed the repose of Christendom; which had

crushed the stately republic of Venice; which had assaulted the bulwarks of Vienna; which had desolated the commerce of the Mediterranean; and which had inflicted on so many myriads of unfortunate believers the horrors of a captivity far worse than death itself. And had the czar been able to realize this stupendous scheme of conquest, his consolidated empire would then indeed have been more colossal than any other which has ever existed; than that of Alexander the Great, than that of Charlemagne, than that even of Napoleon I.

Preparatory to commencing this vast project, Nicholas endeavoured to cajole and deceive the British government, either into active co-operation with him, or into a passive indifference to his measures. He took occasion to express his feigned sentiments of amity toward England, to the English ambassador then at his court, Sir H. Seymour, in February, 1854. Said he: "It is very essential that the English government and I should be on the best terms; and the necessity was never greater than at present. I beg you to convey these words to Lord John Russell. As long as we are agreed, I am quite indifferent as to the rest of Europe." "It instantly occurred to me," continued Sir H. Seymour in reference to this conversation, "that it was incomplete, and I determined to inquire more particularly

into his views. I therefore said to his majesty, 'Permit me to take a great liberty.' 'Certainly; let me hear what it is.' I observed to him that I should be particularly glad if his majesty would add a few words which would tend to calm the anxiety with regard to the affairs of Turkey, which existed in England. Said Nicholas: 'The affairs of Turkey are in a very disorganized condition. The country indeed seems to be going to ruin, (*menace ruine*;) its fall will be a great misfortune, and it is very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding upon these affairs. We have on our hands a sick man,—a *very* sick man. It will be a great misfortune, if one of these days, he should slip away from us.' '*

On a subsequent occasion, Nicholas observed to Sir H. Seymour, "You know the dreams and plans in which the Empress Catherine was in the habit of indulging. These were handed down to our time; but, while I inherited her immense territorial possessions, I did not inherit those visions, and her intentions. On the contrary, my country is so vast, so happily circumstanced in every way, that it would

* "Nous avons sur les bras un homme malade,—un homme *grave ment* malade; ce sera un grand malheur si, un de ces jours, il devait nous échapper; surtout avant que toutes les dispositions nécessaires fussent prises," &c.

be unreasonable in me to desire more power than I already possess. But in Turkey, there are several millions of Greek Christians, whose interests I am called upon to watch over, (*surveiller*,) while my right to do so is secured to me by treaty. I may truly say, that I make a very moderate and sparing use of my right; and it is one which is attended with obligations, which are occasionally very inconvenient. But I cannot recede from the discharge of a distinct duty."

In succeeding interviews, Nicholas continued to reiterate similar sentiments to Sir H. Seymour. He attempted to infuse, through him, into the British cabinet, a spirit of aggression similar to his own. Hence he said: "In the event of a dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, it would be less difficult to arrive at a satisfactory arrangement, than was usually believed. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia would remain, as they now are, an independent state under my protection. Servia might receive the same form of government. So also Bulgaria. As to Egypt, if England should take possession of that province, I shall have no objections to offer. I would say the same in reference to Candia. There is no reason, why England should not possess it also." The English minister did not seem to receive this proposition with the enthusiasm

which the czar expected, and the latter continued: "If England ever thinks of establishing herself at Constantinople, I will not allow it; while on the contrary, if no other provision were made, circumstances might place *me* in the position of occupying Constantinople. You see how I am now behaving toward the sultan. This gentleman (*ce monsieur*) breaks his written word to me, and acts in a manner extremely displeasing to me; and yet I have contented myself with despatching an ambassador to Constantinople to demand reparation. I could certainly have sent an army there, if I chose. There is nothing to hinder me; but I have merely contented myself with such a show of force, as will prove, that I do not intend to be trifled with."*

* We append one of the letters addressed to the British minister to his cabinet at home, as setting forth more clearly the peculiar sentiments entertained at that time by the czar, in reference to the dismemberment of Turkey:—

SIR G. H. SEYMOUR TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

[Secret and confidential.]

ST. PETERSBURG, April 20, 1853.

The emperor, on rising from the table when I had the honour of dining at the palace on the 18th instant, desired me to follow him into the next room.

His majesty then said that he wished to state to me the real and sincere satisfaction which he received from your lordship's despatch, marked "secret and confidential," of the 23d ultimo.

It had been, his majesty said, most agreeable to him to find that the overtures which he had addressed to her majesty's government had been responded to in the same friendly spirit in which they were

The aspiring emperor soon discovered, however, that England would not only not become a party to his plans of lawless aggression upon the sultan, but that she would not stand by quietly, while "the sick man" was attacked, despoiled, and ruined, by his more vigorous and ambitious neighbour.

A pretext for commencing open hostilities with the sultan was necessary; and the acute Nicholas was not very long in finding one.

made; that, to use a former expression, there was nothing in which he placed so much reliance as "*la parole d'un gentilhomme*;" that he felt that the relations of the two courts stood upon a better basis, now that a clear understanding had been obtained as to points which, if left in doubt, might have been productive of misintelligence, and, as his majesty was pleased to add, he felt obliged to me for having contributed toward bringing about this friendly *entente*.

And his majesty said, "I beg you to understand that what I have pledged myself to do will be equally binding on my successor; there now exist memorandums of my intentions, and whatever I have promised, my son, if the changes alluded to should occur in his time, would be as ready to perform as his father would have been."

The emperor proceeded to state that he would very frankly offer an observation or two, it might be a criticism, on your lordship's despatch.

The despatch spoke of the fall of the Turkish Empire as an uncertain and distant event. He would remark that the one term excluded the other; uncertain it was, certainly, but, for that reason, not necessarily remote. He desired it might be, but he was not sure that it might so prove.

His majesty desired further to observe, that he could not doubt that her majesty's government had taken too favourable a view of the state of the Christian population in Turkey; the sultan might have intended to better their condition, might have given orders in that sense, but he was quite certain that his commands had not been attended to.

In 1850, the French ambassador at Constantinople had been instructed to inquire into certain alleged grievances which were inflicted upon the Latin or Roman Christians in Palestine. The sultan, on receiving the communication of the French ambassador General Aupich on the subject, immediately appointed a commission to investigate the grounds of complaint. This commission declared, after the necessary examination, that the Latins were entitled to the guardianship of the "Holy Places" in question, inasmuch as they had been formerly named in a firman which the sultan had granted to that church, or entitled to that trust.

Here then was the desired pretext, for which the czar so eagerly searched. He immediately wrote to the sultan, Abd-ul-Medjid, insisting that the privileges of the Greek Christians in Palestine had been invaded; and requiring that the custody of the Holy Places should be withdrawn from the Latins, and intrusted to the Greeks. The sultan, on receiving this portentous epistle from the czar, was terrified. He immediately annulled the proceedings of the commission, and appointed another to take the same matter into consideration. This commission attempted to obviate all causes of dispute, and reported in favour of allowing the Greek and Latin Christians to have equal access and right to the

great Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre; and that the Latins should have access to the Tomb of the Virgin, and a key to the Church of Bethlehem.

To this very reasonable arrangement the French government acceded; and here would have been an end of all difficulty so far as everybody was concerned, excepting the czar. But he did not entertain the remotest idea of being satisfied with any thing; no concession, however fair and reasonable, would have been received by him, as a final adjustment of the dangerous and unhappy dispute. With the most despicable duplicity and dishonesty, he directed his ambassador to insist, that the key which the Latins were to possess, should be that of a *side door* only; and that the promulgation of the decree of the sultan should be read in Jerusalem in the most public manner, and then announced throughout the Turkish dominions. To these absurd demands, the sultan showed an unexpected and a spirited resistance. He was inflexible in reference to the important matter of the *key*; and the entrance to the Grand Door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was formally intrusted to the Latin monks.

Nicholas pretended to be incensed at the stubbornness of the sultan, and his resistance to his just demands; and in the spring of 1853, he announced that he was about to send to Constantinople an ex-

traordinary ambassador of high rank, commissioned to set forth in full the demands of the czar. On the 1st of March accordingly, Prince Menschikoff arrived in Constantinople; and the very next day demanded and received an audience with the sultan. This very first procedure was an insult to the Ottoman court and sovereign; inasmuch as diplomatic etiquette imperatively demanded, that he should first have had an interview with the minister for foreign affairs. A month passed away, in arrogant and unreasonable assumptions on the one side, and in vain attempt at conciliation and arrangement on the other. At length, on the 5th of May, Prince Menschikoff announced to the Divan, that he had received the *ultimatum* of the czar, the acceptance of which on the part of the sultan, would prevent any further difficulties in future. This ultimatum was in substance a demand, that the sultan should acknowledge a Russian protectorate over all the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire,—a concession which would have been equivalent to establishing a Russian supremacy over two-thirds of the population of the Turkish dominions. Menschikoff allowed the sultan twelve days for the acceptance of this infamous proposition.

So great was the terror excited at Constantinople when this demand of the czar first became known,

that the whole Turkish ministry resigned, as being unable to direct the counsels of the sultan in this trying emergency. A new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reschid Pacha, was appointed, who possessed a spirit of greater intrepidity; and under his advice the sultan determined, at last, to raise his head, to look boldly and defiantly at his deadly foe, and resolutely to resist his perfidious and endless encroachments. The Divan declared that they refused to accept the ultimatum thus offered them by the czar.

Such prompt resistance seems to have surprised Nicholas; and as he wished to gain time for the purpose of concentrating his armies on the Danube, to be ready to strike a decisive blow, he ordered Menschikoff to offer another proposition, adroitly termed his *ultimatissimum*, which was in substance the same as that which had been previously proposed. This was also as indignantly rejected as the former one; and Menschikoff immediately departed for St. Petersburg.

At this juncture, England, France, Prussia, and Austria, conceived that it was high time for them to interfere, to preserve the balance of power in the East, to support the trembling sultan, and to curb the irate and ambitious czar. In June, 1853, their representatives met at Vienna, and after some con-

sideration, they prepared a document, which they thought might settle the difficulty.

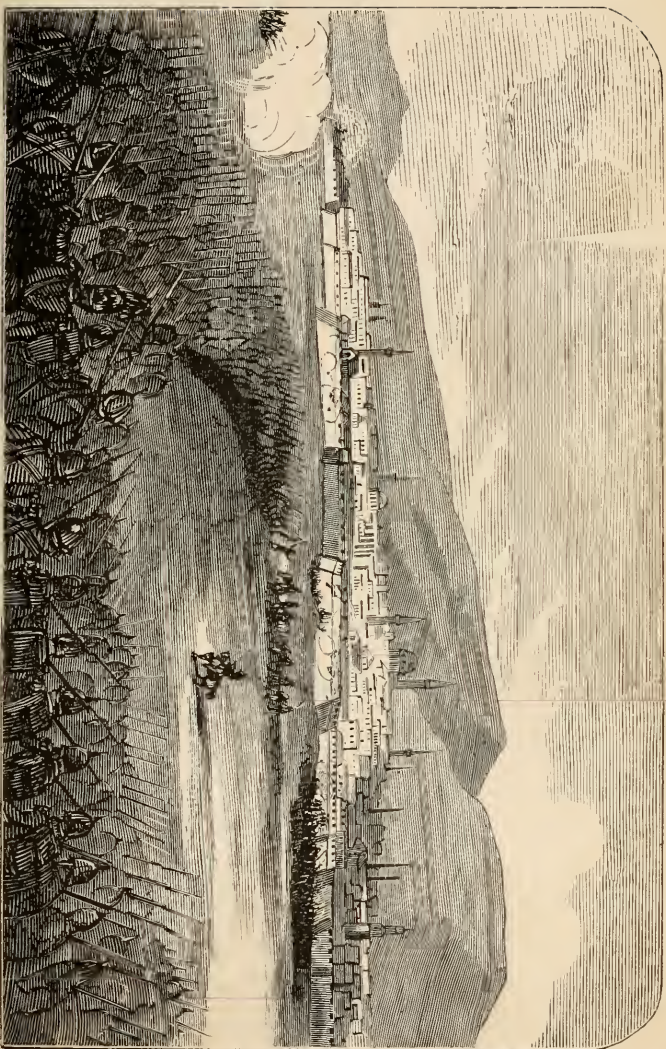
The propositions contained in this document were immediately accepted by Nicholas. Was it because he was disposed to terms of peace? By no means. It was because the language of the document framed by the representatives of the four Powers, was so vague, loose, and obscure, that an ample scope was allowed for perfidy to misconstrue its terms. Reschid Pacha clearly perceived this secret, and as clearly pointed it out to those who framed it. The consequence was that, being convinced of the truth of the animadversions of the Turkish statesman, they drew up another statement, more explicitly and clearly worded. This they transmitted to Nicholas, as the ultimatum of the four Powers. This document, and the propositions which it contained, Nicholas rejected as peremptorily as he had accepted the preceding one; thus clearly exposing his true purposes in reference to the proposed conciliation.

Accordingly, on the 24th of June, 1853, Nicholas issued a manifesto, in which he announced his intention of seizing the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as material guarantees that the sultan would eventually accede to his demands. On the 2d of July, General Dannenberg crossed the Pruth, the ancient boundary between Russia and Turkey,

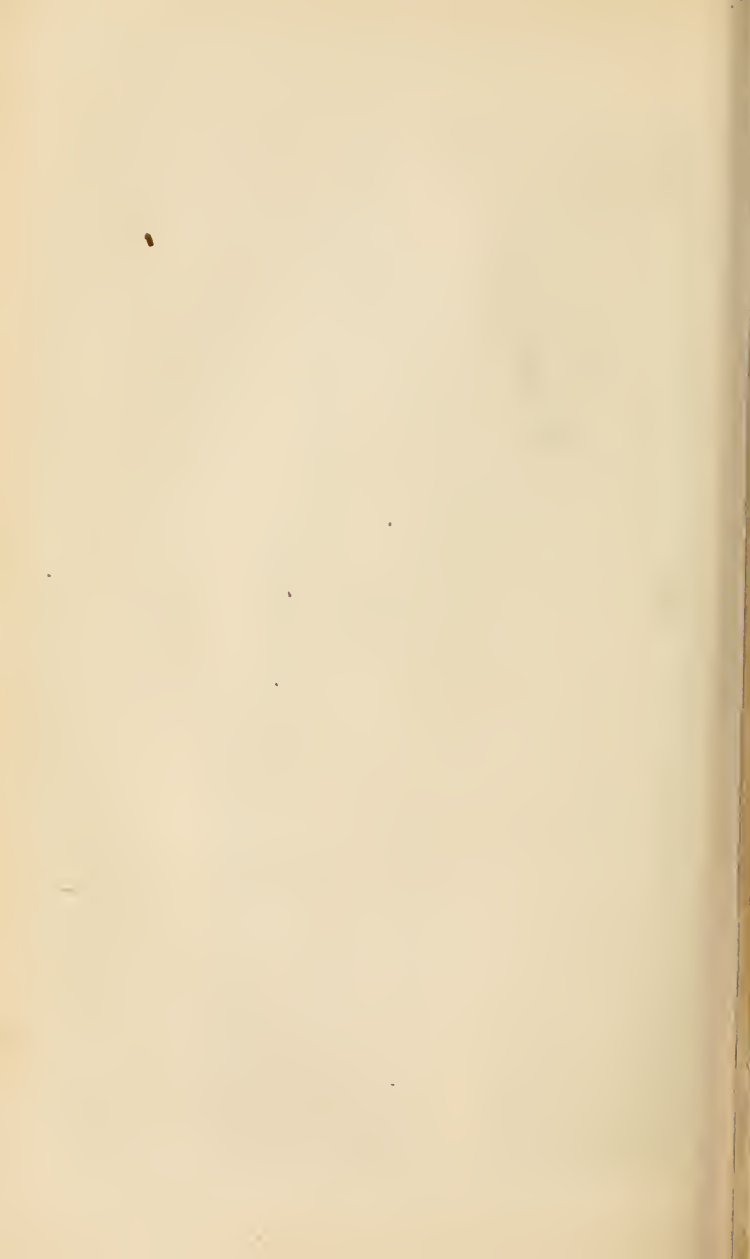
and entered Moldavia. This movement was regarded by the sultan as a declaration of war; and on the 5th of October, the Ottoman sovereign, on his part, signed a declaration of hostilities against Russia. Omar Pacha, the ablest and most renowned of the Turkish generals, who by the force of his talents had raised himself to the highest military offices of the state, was appointed generalissimo of the Turkish forces. He at once despatched a note to the Russian commander, allowing him fifteen days during which to evacuate the principalities.

The heroic resolution displayed by the sultan, in thus bidding defiance to the prodigious power of the arrogant Muscovite, called forth the acclamations of his own subjects, and excited the admiration of Europe. The spirit of the Turkish people seemed to have been rejuvenated, and new life to inflame their sluggish blood. The multitudes who crowded the streets, the priests of the sacred colleges, the muezzins in the mosques, the army, the wealthy commercial classes—all appeared to be aroused to make a determined and resolute resistance against the encroachments of that great foe, who had insulted their religion, who had thrown contempt on their sovereign, who had outraged the usages of their court, and who had presumed to make demands which evinced his settled purpose of effect-

ing the ruin of the ancient empire of the faithful. That warlike energy, which had once made the name of the Turk a sound of terror throughout Europe, after the ignoble sleep of centuries now seemed to be aroused again, in all its pristine vigour; and to challenge the giant of the north once more, and for the last time, to a desperate conflict of life or of death.



The Siege of Silistra.



CHAPTER XXIII.

MANIFESTO OF NICHOLAS RESPECTING THE WAR—BATTLE OF TURTUKAI—DESTRUCTION OF THE TURKISH FLEET AT SINOPE—EXULTATION OF THE CZAR—VICTORY OF THE TURKS AT CITATE—DECLARATION OF WAR BY ENGLAND AND FRANCE—THE ALLIED ARMY AND GENERALS—CELEBRATED SIEGE OF SILISTRIA—MEMORABLE TRIUMPH OF THE TURKS.

NICHOLAS was very much surprised at the unexpected resistance to his demands thus made by the sultan. He immediately published a manifesto, full of the most false and unfair insinuations, intended to throw the odium of the impending conflict on the Ottoman ruler.

In this manifesto he displays the usual duplicity of his character. Says he: "The chief powers of Europe have sought in vain by their exhortations to shake the blind obstinacy of the Ottoman government. It is by a declaration of war, by a proclamation filled with lying accusations against Russia, that it has responded to the pacific efforts of Europe, as well as to our own spirit of long-suffering. At last, enrolling in the ranks of its army revolutionary exiles from all countries, the Porte has just com-

menced hostilities on the Danube. Russia is challenged to the combat; and she has no other course left her, than, putting her trust in God, to have recourse to force of arms, and so compel the Ottoman government to respect treaties, and to obtain reparation for the insults with which it has responded to our most moderate demands. We are firmly convinced that our faithful subjects will join their prayers with ours to the Almighty, beseeching him to bless our arms in this just and holy cause, which has always found ardent defenders in our own ancestors. *In te, Domine, speravi; non confundar in æternum.*”

Never was a more false, a more specious, or a more perfidious proclamation issued by any sovereign, when seeking for a rotten subterfuge wherewith to hide the enormity of the most unjust and unprincipled aggressions.

The fifteen days permitted by Omar Pacha to intervene, for the purpose of allowing the Russian troops to evacuate the provinces, had transpired; and the latter had, of course, maintained their position. The Ottoman general immediately concentrated 120,000 troops along the line, four hundred miles in extent, which it was his duty to defend. He established Shumla as his head-quarters, in the centre. On the extreme left he seized the fortress

of Kalafat. He made Rustchuk and Silistria the keys to the centre of his position; and Galatz, on the extreme right, was protected by the deadly marshes of Dobrudscha.

On the 2d of November, 1853, the first detachment of Turkish troops crossed the Danube at Turtukai, and threw up earthworks to protect their position. They were immediately attacked by four columns of Russian troops, consisting of 8000 men. They were repulsed with a severe loss by the Turks. The next day the Russians resumed the attack, and made a furious assault with 30,000 men on the Turkish position, which had been reinforced so as to contain 18,000. The Russian columns advanced with great confidence, in defiance of a heavy fire from the Turkish guns from the opposite banks, and a brisk discharge of musketry from the troops stationed in the works. The ground was soon covered with the dead and dying Russians; and still their winnowed columns advanced steadily, and approached the redoubts. This was the moment anxiously waited for by Omar Pasha. He ordered his whole line to leap over the works, and to charge the advancing columns. The Turks executed the order with prodigious vigour. They fought hand to hand with the foe with their ancient ferocity. It was the first battle of this memorable

war, and the first opportunity which the Turks had obtained, of wreaking vengeance on the insulters and invaders of their country. The effect of the Turkish onslaught was tremendous. The Russian columns wavered, then broke, then fled. The rout was complete. The Russians lost on the field a thousand men; the Turks lost thirty.

A few days after this conflict Omar Pacha appeared suddenly, with his whole army, three hundred miles distant, at Matschin, in the fatal region of the Dobrudscha, and repulsed the Russians, who were advancing into that district. The benefit of this achievement was, that the rapidity and uncertainty of movement which it displayed struck astonishment and terror into the minds of the Russian leaders. They were not prepared to see such rare displays of military and strategic skill, which utterly confused their own settled plans of the campaign.

But the czar and his troops were destined, at this stage of the conflict, to obtain at least one triumph over the foe, though it was indeed an ignoble one, and shed far more infamy than glory over the Russian arms. This was the sudden attack, on the 30th of November, on thirteen Turkish vessels, which were lying quietly in the harbour of Sinope, by a Russian fleet, consisting of six men-of-war

and some smaller vessels. These, taking advantage of a heavy fog, had darted out from the port of Sevastopol, under the command of Admiral Naehimoff. The Turks were taken entirely by surprise; were entirely unprepared for battle; yet they fought bravely. But the conflict was so unequal in advantages, that 5000 Turks were soon massacred; their whole fleet, except two transports, was utterly destroyed, and the Turkish admiral, Osman Paeha, was wounded and taken prisoner. He was removed to Sevastopol, where, after six weeks of suffering, he expired. A few Turks, swimming to land, clambered over the heights, and escaped. The feeble battery of Sinope was unable to aid the Turks; for their guns were almost unfit for use, and, when they did fire, their untimely shot fell short of the mark, and struck among the vessels which they were intended to protect. The news of this victory, and ferocious massacre, as it was pictured forth and exaggerated by the Russians, electrified Europe. At St. Petersburg, Nicholas distributed decorations among his successful officers, and ordered *Te Deums* to be chanted in all the churches throughout his empire. The civilized world censured this attack as a wanton and unjustifiable massacre, which reflected much more disgrace than glory on the arms of the exultant czar.

On the Danube, events were not so favourable to the Russians. Omar Pacha had not intended to remain in the marshes of the Dobrudscha, but permitted the enemy to advance to a certain distance. The Russian *corps d'armée*, under General Osten Sacken, were the unfortunate detachments which entered the Dobrudscha; and, during the several succeeding months, 30,000 Russians perished from the fatal diseases which hover over those marshes, which lie in a watery district formed by the bend of the Danube, some thirty miles in length, when near the points of its discharge into the Euxine Sea.

The campaign of 1853 was closed by the brilliant victory of the Turks at Citate. General Fishbach was ordered by Nicholas to advance with a large division of the Russian army to the siege of Kalafat. Achmet Pacha, the commandant of the fortress of Kalafat, determined not to await the arrival of the Russian army; for the longer he delayed the more reinforcements the latter received. He, therefore, marched out of his works, and advanced to meet Fishbach at Citate, with 10,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 15 field-pieces, and 1000 irregular troops. The Russians numbered 16,000. A furious battle ensued; in which, after four hours of conflict, during which both sides fought with sanguinary desperation, the victory remained

with the Turks. About 2400 Russians were left dead in the streets and field-works, 2400 were wounded, and they lost their depôts of ammunition and arms. The Turks had only 1000 killed and wounded. During two succeeding days the Russians endeavoured to take the place; but all their exertions proved unavailing. The Turks even advanced, and drove the Russians before them as far as Krajova; then returned again, and re-entered Kalafat in triumph.

Such was the battle of Citate; which caused Europe to exult at the fortitude of the Turks, and which filled the haughty czar with astonishment, not unmingled with indignation and disgust.

These stirring incidents in the war—which had now fairly and fully commenced between the Russian and Ottoman rulers—had thoroughly aroused the cabinets of England and France to the necessity of interfering in the contest, and taking part with the weaker, but the more just and heroic, side. England declared war against Russia on the 28th of March, 1854; Nicholas having rejected the ultimatum proposed by the English cabinet, with the haughty and contemptuous remark: “These terms do not require five minutes’ consideration!” Louis Napoleon, Emperor of the French, also declared war against Russia at the same time. In

his address, at the opening of the legislature, he said: "France has as much—and perhaps more—interest at stake, than England, to prevent the extension of the influence of Russia, indefinitely, over Constantinople; for to reign at Constantinople is to command the Mediterranean, and not one of you will say, that England alone has interests in that sea which washes three hundred leagues of our shores."

At first, the English cabinet had determined to send 25,000 troops to the assistance of the sultan. They resolved, however, to send twice that number, and Lord Raglan, then better known as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Master-General of the Ordnance, an old friend and associate of Wellington, was appointed to the chief command. The French emperor, incensed by the coolness with which Nicholas had acknowledged the announcement of his accession to the French throne, was determined to send a formidable force to the East. Sixty thousand men—a large portion of whom had served as Zouaves in the war in Algeria—were placed under the command of the veteran friend of Napoleon III., Marshal St. Arnaud, assisted by General Canrobert. These troops sailed for the East; and in the month of May, 1854, the transports which conveyed the allied army hove in sight

of the towers of Varna, where they were ordered first to disembark. Day after day the vast armament transferred itself from the ships to the shore, and crowded the streets and dwellings of the city. This first detachment consisted of 50,000 troops, sent to the assistance of the sultan.

Passing by details of inferior interest, let us approach the event of greatest magnitude, which occurred during the campaign of 1854. This event was the celebrated siege of Silistria, a fortified city, which had, during the previous war with Turkey, been captured by the Russians without much difficulty, or very great sacrifices.

Previous to the investment of this city by the army of the czar, Prince Paskiewitch was appointed to the supreme command of the Russian forces. This officer was, beyond all question, the most able, the most experienced, and the most successful, of all the Russian generals. He had been the conqueror both of Persia and of Poland, in the conflicts of the czar with those nations. He was now supported by the flower of the Russian corps of officers: by Schilders, the most skilful general of engineers; by the dauntless Gortschakoff; by the impetuous Luders; by the resolute Orloff, the personal favourite of the czar, and the Murat of the Russian cavalry.

The capture of Silistria was an achievement of the greatest importance to Nicholas. It was the strongest fortress on the southern bank of the Danube. It was the key to the province of Bulgaria. Until it was taken no further operations of importance could be made, either aggressive or defensive, by the Russian generals.

That Nicholas never doubted for a moment that the fortress would easily and certainly fall into his hands, is evinced by his orders to his generals. But before he ventured upon a general assault, the issue of which might, by a bare possibility, be unfortunate, he determined to try, as usual, the effect of bribery. He, therefore, ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the garrison, demanding a parley. Paskiewitch and Moussa Pacha held a private interview outside the walls, during which the following conversation is said to have taken place. Said Paskiewitch: "The Emperor of Russia wishes to spare the needless effusion of blood. He had sent *positive orders, that Silistria must be taken.* Hence, it inevitably will be taken; and it would be wise for the Turkish commander to yield at once, and not uselessly throw away the lives of thousands of his garrison, as well as bring great misfortunes on the inhabitants of the city." To this Moussa Pacha answered: "That the sultan had honoured

him with positive instructions to defend the place; nor could he surrender it if he had but a thousand men, and all Russia was at the gates, headed by the czar himself." Hereupon, it is added, that Paskiewitch made a mysterious, pantomimic sign with his hand, which implied an enormous sum of gold imperials. Moussa's only answer to this proposed bribe was a hearty laugh, and the remark, "Let us now separate; the interview under white flags is over."

The garrison of Silistria did not at that time number more than 10,000 men. The army of the czar, which surrounded its walls, comprised 53,000 Russians; and batteries had been established by them, commanding the most important points. Small as the garrison was, it was commanded by one of the ablest and most heroic of the Turkish generals; the soldiers under him had caught his dauntless spirit, and they were determined that the foe should only enter the fortress over the corpses of the whole garrison.

On the 28th of April, 1854, commenced the siege of Silistria, one of the most remarkable on record; not for the number of men engaged, but for the desperate nature of the attack and of the defence. During the space of ten weeks, the immense force under Paskiewitch was brought forward to repeated

and renewed assaults. They were as often repulsed by the heroic garrison. The Russians then brought their heavy artillery to bear against the works. They slew the defenders of the walls, but as often as the latter disappeared, others as bold and resolute as they, instantly rose in their places. Breaches were made in the bulwarks; but before the advancing columns could enter the breach, they discovered strong walls which had been erected in their rear, and which were still to be taken. Mines were excavated toward the works. The Turks countermined, and blew the Russian engineers into the air. The batteries of the Russians threw a deluge of shot and shell into the city; but its defenders liberally returned the hailstorm of death, from the summit of their battlements. Moussa Pacha proved himself, by his extraordinary exertions and heroism, worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the sultan.

The siege continued, as time wore on, without any advantage being gained by the Russians. Paskewitch had repeatedly sent despatches to the czar, informing him of the immense difficulties which his troops had to encounter, and the heroic defence made by the garrison, as excuses for not having already won a signal triumph. At length the haughty czar became exasperated at the delay and

at the failure ; and he sent a peremptory command to Paskiewitch to write him no more letters about the difficulties of the siege, and the sufferings of his troops, but to “*take Silistria.*”

In accordance with this order of the disappointed and infuriated monarch, the Russian commander at length determined on a grand and final assault. On the 28th of June a *coup-de-main* was resolved upon. Paskiewitch endeavoured beforehand to stimulate the brutal courage of his troops to the highest possible pitch. Liberal rations of brandy were distributed. Rich rewards, promotions, and decorations, were promised to those who distinguished themselves in the coming assault. Threats of death were uttered against any who would display cowardice and a want of resolution. He declared that, if the assault failed, the rations of the whole army would be stopped by the czar, who had directly threatened it. Silistria must be taken, whatever sacrifice it might cost, either of lives, or of effort, or of suffering.

Prince Paskiewitch led on the advanced columns to this attack on the fortress in person. He was ably supported by divisions under Generals Schilders, Gortschakoff, Luders, and Orloff. The assault was made along the whole line of the works, by 50,000 troops, defended by 12,000. The conflict

was desperate beyond description. The Russians seemed determined to obey the peremptory command of the czar to take the place, or else to perish in the attempt. The Turks appeared to be fully conscious of the vast importance of Silistria to the interests of their sovereign and their country; and they fought inch by inch, as the teeming multitudes of the foe swelled upward like a mighty tide against the fortifications. During this memorable day, the fierce demon of war raged with untamed ferocity around the works, thus furiously attacked and as furiously defended. Quarter was neither asked nor given by either party. There have been other sieges, in which greater numbers of men have mingled in the deadly combat; but there have been none, in which more brilliant episodes of dauntless heroism and unconquerable fortitude were displayed, by the determined defenders of a great fortress.

Night fell on the scene of conflict and of blood, and Silistria still remained in the hands of the Turks. The conflict ceased; and the discomfited soldiers of the czar, after putting forth their best and utmost exertions, had failed to "*take Silistria.*" The ferocity of the conflict may be inferred from its consequences. Prince Paskiewitch was dangerously wounded; Count Orloff was killed; Gortschakoff was severely wounded; Schilders had both his legs

shattered; and Luders lost a jaw bone. Thirty thousand Russian soldiers had perished before the walls of Silistria, and on the day of that grand assault. The siege was immediately raised, and the remnant of the discomfited army withdrew toward Foktehani.

The triumphant Turks, on their side, lost several thousand men in killed and wounded; but their greatest misfortune was in the death of Moussa Paeha, the heroic commander of the fortress. During the height of the conflict, he was struck on the head by a cannon shot, and expired instantly.

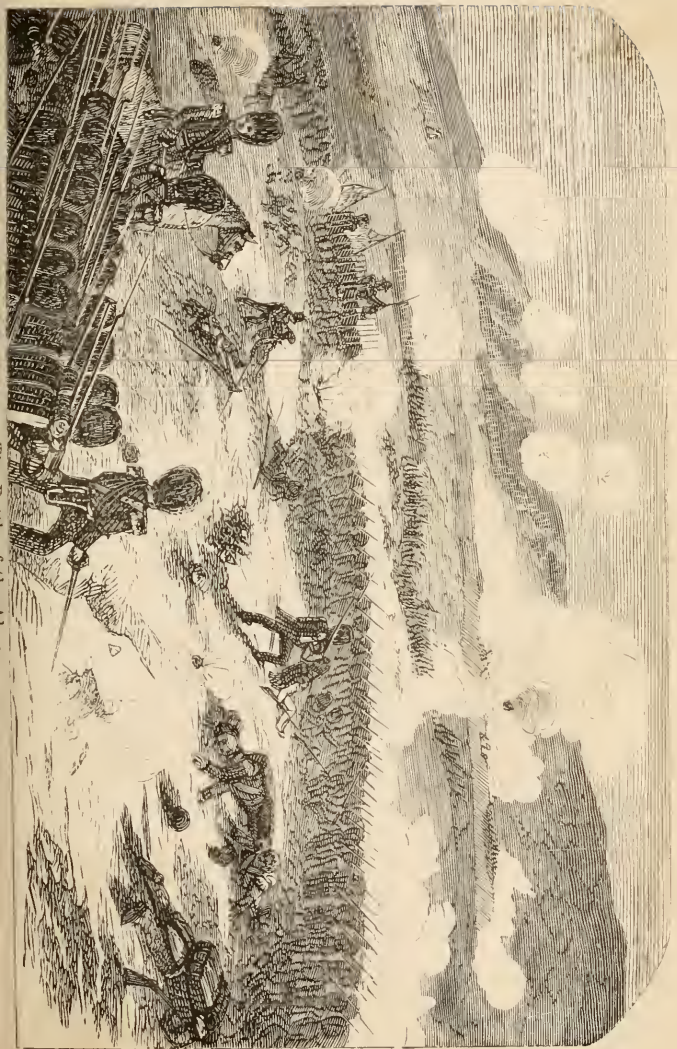
It is said, that when Nicholas received information of the defeat of his army in this attack on Silistria, he gave way to the most furious paroxysms of rage. Nor could the great age of Paskiewitch, his long services, and his brilliant victories in former times, save him from the biting reproofs, and the ill-concealed displeasure, of the baffled czar. He requested permission to retire from the service; and that permission was sullenly granted to him by Nicholas, without a word of compliment or regret.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DEPARTURE OF THE ALLIES FROM VARNA—LANDING AT OLD FORT—
PLANS OF THE CAMPAIGN—SEVASTOPOL—BATTLE OF THE ALMA—
PREPARATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS—TREMENDOUS STRUGGLES BETWEEN
THE COMBATANTS—DECISIVE VICTORY OF THE ALLIES—RETREAT
OF THE RUSSIANS—CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE—THE ADVANCE
TOWARD SEVASTOPOL—BATTLE OF BALAKLAVA.

THE allied army still remained in their quarters at Varna, during the progress of the siége of Silistria. The failure of the Russian commanders to take that important fortress completely changed the plans of the campaign. The question now for the allied commanders to determine, was how their forces could be most usefully employed.

Several projects were proposed; but the resolution was finally adopted, that the most efficient and destructive blow to the power of the czar, would be inflicted by marching directly into the Russian province of the Crimea, and laying siege to Sevastopol, the largest, the most formidable, and the most valuable fortress in the Russian Empire, perhaps even in the world. The allied armies accordingly broke up their quarters at Varna, and on the 7th of Septem-





ber, 1854, a vast fleet, consisting altogether of 400 vessels, set sail for the Crimea, with the English and French troops on board.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the fleet hove in sight of the low coast of that clime, which was so soon to be rendered memorable by one of the most remarkable sieges in history. About eight miles from Eupatoria, the ships cast anchor in the bay of Kalamita, near a place known by the name of "Old Fort." It seemed a deserted coast, barren and uninhabited. The only signs of life which greeted the view of the voyagers, were a mounted Russian officer attended by several wild Cossacks, on the look-out; who disappeared in the distance as soon as they were observed. The living freight of the vessels was entirely discharged by the 14th of September; and by the 16th the entire force of the allies was under arms, in the land which they were about to immortalize by their heroism.

The allied armies immediately commenced their march across the peninsula toward Sevastopol; and on the 20th of September they approached the small river Alma, which rises in the mountains on the eastern part of the peninsula, and falls into the sea about twelve miles to the north of Sevastopol. It was on the precipitous shores of this obscure stream,

that the first great battle in the Crimea was destined to take place.

On the eminences on the opposite side of the Alma, the Russians had erected a long line of entrenchments, with enormous batteries. The summit of the hills was occupied by large masses of infantry, various batteries had been erected at different points on the flank of the advancing troops, and along the tops of the cliffs which overhung the sea. The Russians had destroyed the bridge across the river, and had set fire to the village of Burluik, on the southern bank, in order to prevent it from being made a cover to their troops by the allies.

Thus were the Russians posted, in strong numbers, and in admirably defended positions, to dispute the farther advance of the allies toward Sevastopol. The latter immediately discovered the necessity of a battle, as well as of a victory; and though the Russian general had vastly the advantage of position, they determined to advance at once to the attack. Prince Menschikoff commanded, on that day, 54,000 troops, together with a formidable array of artillery. It was natural that he should anticipate a decisive victory. The allied armies numbered about 60,000 men; and the first sight of the Russians strongly entrenched on the opposite side of the river, and sternly awaiting their attack, must have been a scene in the

highest degree inspiring. Nor was the moment without grave anxiety for the invading forces. If they failed in gaining the opposite heights, and, with them, the victory, it would be a disaster pregnant with presages of coming ruin. Their march to Sevastopol would be prevented. Their retreat to their ships would become as inevitable, as it would be ignominious; victory alone, which must evidently be won by great sacrifices, and by heroic valour, could save them from utter ruin, and insure the future.

According to the plan of attack adopted by the allied generals, the French troops on the right of their line, were to cross the Alma first, and, scaling the precipitous heights on the opposite bank, attack the Russian left. They did so. The Zouaves, accustomed to the desultory warfare of Africa, succeeded in reaching the tops of the cliffs and forming into line, notwithstanding the torrent of musketry poured upon them by the Russian sharp-shooters. Next, the division of General Bosquet succeeded in reaching the elevated *plateau*. A furious conflict ensued between the Russian and French troops. The issue was so doubtful, that Marshal St. Arnaud sent to the English commander, beseeching him to bring his own troops into action.

At half-past one the English regiments began to move. They dashed into the stream, in the midst

of a shower of rifle balls, and artillery from the opposite heights. Having reached the shore, they formed, and advanced to the attack. Menschikoff still remained in the centre of his position, and his troops had yet been unengaged. He directed a tremendous fire of musketry and artillery upon the English, as they toilfully ascended the heights. The enormous weight of the Russian columns, together with the terrible havoc made in their ranks, by the artillery which, from the heights above, ploughed through and through them, leaving long lanes of dead and dying, compelled the English slowly to yield; until fortunately at this moment, the gallant thirty-third regiment, the Duke of Wellington's favourite, reached the spot occupied by the wavering lines, and led them back again to victory.

Regiment after regiment of the allies charged furiously up the heights; and conflict after conflict, successively ended, after prodigious exertions, in the triumph of the allies. At times the efforts of the Russians seemed to render the final issue of the conflict doubtful. In one instance the regiments of Royal and Welsh Fusiliers, crushed by the immense impetus of the Russian charge, were in full retreat down the heights. At that moment the Guards and Highlanders, under the command of the Duke of Cambridge, were ascending the heights

and met their retreating comrades. The Scotch Guards opened their ranks to permit the fugitives to pass through them, and to reform in the rear. They then charged in front against the pursuing Russians with prodigious fury. The vigorous and powerful sons of the North, giants in strength by the side of their pigmy foes, hewed them down with tremendous onslaught; and forced them, after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, to retreat precipitately to their works.

At length, after many feats of valour and heroism on both sides, the whole line of the allies reached the redoubts which stretched along the summit of the heights. The Russians then no longer attempted to defend them. They fled precipitately; and the allies directed their own guns against the retreating multitude, as they pursued their disorderly way, down the opposite slopes of the hills, toward Sevastopol. The victory of the allies was complete; and had they, at that decisive moment, continued the pursuit to the gates of Sevastopol, it is not improbable, that that fortress would have surrendered at discretion. It was afterward ascertained, that the city had been in a great measure emptied of its troops, to swell the force upon the memorable and blood-stained heights of the Alma. The Russians lost 2000 dead, 2700 wounded on the field. The allies lost 600 killed, 2600 wounded.

Such was the termination of the first great pitched battle between these powerful combatants in the Crimea; a battle which, while every advantage of position and of preparation was on the side of the Russians, resulted in the signal defeat of the troops of the czar, and in the additional mortification and indignation which that defeat inflicted on his proud spirit. He had laid out his utmost available strength, to prevent the farther advance of the invaders into the Crimea, and to hurl them back again into the sea; and he had utterly failed. His own troops had been compelled to fly, leaving the foe to exult in the magnitude of his victory. To a man of the haughty temper of the czar, this repulse must have been galling beyond expression; yet he, who had proffered the poisoned chalice of despair and misery, to the lips of so many myriads of his fellow-creatures, was destined, in the wise decrees of Providence, to drink still deeper, more bitter, and more deadly, draughts, of the same cup, ere death would release him from the wretched position, into which his insatiable and unprincipled ambition had enticed him.

It was a matter of very great importance to the allies to have uninterrupted communication with their fleets, so that the siege trains, ammunition, and provisions could be safely landed, and conveyed

to the camp before Sevastopol with certainty and ease.

For this purpose the port of Balaklava was chosen. This is a small town situated on the eastern side of a small harbour, defended at the entrance by lofty cliffs. On one of these there was an ancient tower, of small dimensions, which had been erected ages since by the Genoese, at the period when that great maritime republic held possession of this peninsula. Accordingly the armies were ordered to march toward Balaklava, and word was sent to the fleets to heave anchor and enter that port. On the first day of the march, the French and English reached the heights known as Maekenzie's Farm, so called from its Tartar name, *Khutor Mackenzia*. This was a storehouse, with plantations of timber for the use of the Russian navy. On the morrow the armies approached Balaklava. The fleets had entered the harbour, and immediately the town became filled with an immense and motley multitude, assisting in the work of unloading the ammunition and the provisions for the allied troops.

Having arranged these important preliminaries, the French and English proceeded to take their permanent positions before Sevastopol, and immediately began the erection of batteries and earthworks. A six-gun battery commanded the head of the harbour

of Sevastapol. An immense Lancaster gun, and two 84 pounders, were brought to bear on the White Tower. The great Crown Battery, carrying 26 guns of heavy calibre, was placed in front of the Redan. The French extended their works of attack to the Quarantine Bay. Lord Raglan's head-quarters were established at a farm-house about half-way between Balaklava and the trenches. Solid earthworks were then commenced, along the whole line of frontage, under the continual attack of the artillery of the immense garrison of Sevastopol. By the 16th of October, 1854, the armies may be said to have commenced, in good earnest, the severe, yet disciplined labours of the siege; for early in the morning of that day, a loud booming of the Lancaster gun, announced to the garrison, by its solemn ominous sound, that the great struggle had at length begun.

It was a matter of very great importance to the Russians to intercept, if possible, the connection between the camp of the allies and the post of Balaklava, from which all their supplies were continually and necessarily derived. Accordingly, a great struggle was determined on by Prince Menschikoff, for the purpose of accomplishing this end; and on the 25th of October was fought the desperate battle of Balaklava.

Early in the morning immense masses of Rus-

sian cavalry, supported by large detachments of infantry and artillery, issued from the gates of Sevastopol, and reaching the heights on which the redoubts of the Turks had been built as outposts of the camp, attacked them with great fury. The Turks very soon fled, first from one redoubt,—then from the next,—then from the third; until four redoubts were successively won by the advancing Russians without much conflict or opposition. The retreating Moslems fled in dismay down the hill-side toward Balaklava. The regiments of Highlanders had been rapidly drawn out in line in the rear of the attacked redoubts, by the prompt action of the Duke of Cambridge; and as the tumultuous mob of flying Osmanli approached their ranks, the latter opened, and permitted them to pass through, for the purpose of forming again in their rear.

The unworthy sons of the Prophet being thus disposed of, the dauntless Highlanders closed, and awaited the approach of the Russian cavalry, which now came thundering on. Squadron after squadron of whiskered and hairy hussars appeared in sight, rapidly approaching the long lines of Scotch riflemen; who, dressed in the national costume, awaited in silence, and with the firmness of adamant, the approach of the foe,—two

thousand of whom now were nearly within range of their deadly Minie rifles. It was a sublime spectacle, yet one of intense interest, and of incalculable importance. The English and French generals, with their brilliant staffs, anxiously surveyed the scene from the summit of a hill, overlooking the valley of the Balaklava. From the nature of the ground, more troops could not, at that moment, be brought into action; and the glory and the issue of the day depended entirely on the heroism and steadiness of the Scotch.

At length, the Russian squadrons arrived within range of the riflemen. The very ground shook beneath their heavy tread. Yet the long, double line of the Highlanders seemed to stand unmoved, like inanimate statues. Now several hundred yards alone separated the combatants. The commander of the Highlanders then gave a sharp, quick order. Instantly the long glittering lines of steel ascended to the shoulder, with the regularity and precision of some admirably-contrived machinery. Another sharp word of command was heard. A quick flash of fire darted simultaneously along the whole line of muzzles; a light smoke arose, and a sharp report was heard, ringing on the ear. The effect upon the advancing cavalry was terrific. Hundreds of riders and horses dropped

instantly on the earth; and the confused mass was seen plunging to and fro in disorder and terror. But after a few moments, by the efforts of their officers, the squadrons were formed again; and then they advanced once more to the attack. The front line of the Highlanders, by a word of command, knelt on the earth; and the second line, taking deadly aim, discharged a volley into the Russian squadron, now nearer than before. The effect of this second discharge was more dreadful than the first. Hundreds of Russians strewed the ground. Riderless horses dashed to and fro in wild confusion. The whole mass of cavalry were thrown into the utmost disorder, and then turned and fled from the scene of action. The triumph of the heroic Scotch was again complete, as it had been before, on the memorable heights of the Alma.

But still the victory was not won. The Russian cavalry in their flight reached the regiments of reserve which had not yet been on the battle-field; and, thus augmented, the mass returned again to the English position, and charged the heavy brigade, under the command of General Scarlett. The attack and repulse between these large masses of troops was one of prodigious violence. Again the Russians hoped to win back the victory to

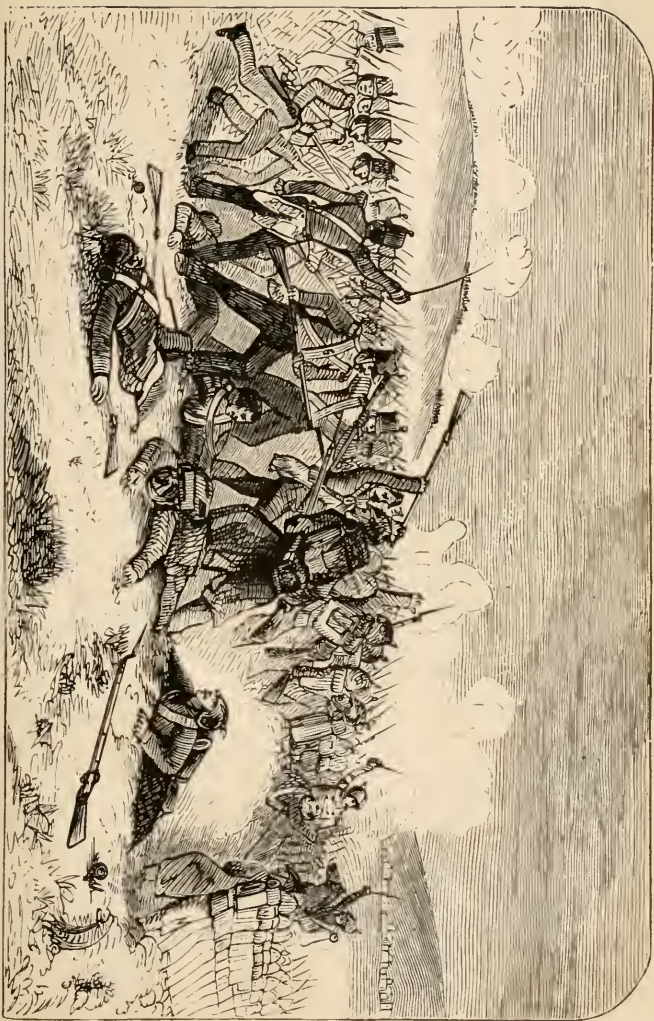
their arms, by extraordinary exertions. They were met by a heroism as dauntless as their own. It is said, that this hand-to-hand conflict on the shores of Balaklava, equalled in fury any thing recorded in the annals of war. There were men engaged in it, who had taken part in many memorable conflicts; men, who had seen the great charge of the Life Guards at Waterloo; who had been present at the onset of the Imperial Guard of Napoleon at Leipsic; who had witnessed the heroism of the English veterans at Salamanca. But they assert, that none of these tremendous conflicts exceeded in fury, or in heroism, that with which the heights of Balaklava that day shook, when Menschikoff determined, by one prodigious blow, to crush the power of the allies, and thus compel them to make a precipitate retreat from the Crimea. At length, however, the British dragoons triumphed over their foes, and the Russians fled in terror and confusion, leaving the earth, for several miles, covered with the wounded and the dying.

Yet still the Russians remained in possession of the unfortunate redoubts, which had been taken from the Turks. These must be recovered, or the glory of the day would remain incomplete. For this purpose, Lord Raglan ordered the Earl of Lucan to advance with the cavalry under his com-

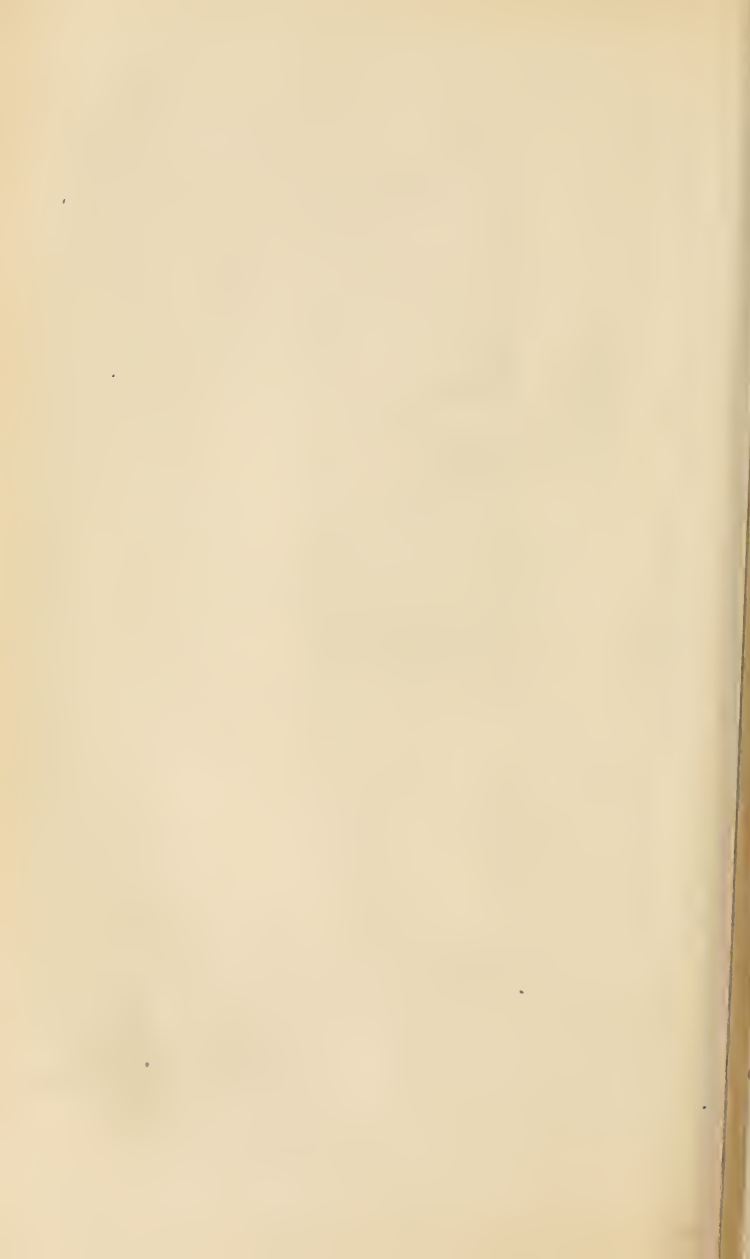
mand. The earl—at the moment when this movement would have been effectual—refused to execute it. Lord Raglan sent another order afterward to the same effect. The Earl of Lucan sent this order to the Earl of Cardigan, who commanded the light brigade. That officer at once saw that, as the battle then stood, the execution of this order, with the number of troops then under his command, was utterly impossible. Nevertheless, the stern sense of duty which actuated him, compelled him to obey the command of a superior officer. The Earl of Cardigan bravely led on detachments of five regiments. As they approached the redoubts, the heroic English saw the guns ranged in grim array against them, and beheld at once the desperate and ruinous nature of the attack which they were compelled to make. The event soon confirmed their forebodings. The murderous fires of the redoubts mowed down two-thirds of the English soldiers. In the course of half an hour four hundred men were left dead on the field, and the remnant regained with difficulty the position from which they had first moved.

Thus the battle of Balaklava ended,—a conflict, in which the glory and the disasters seem to have been equally divided. Before the Russians left the redoubts, which they had taken from the Turks,

they dismantled them, and removed the cannon which they contained to Sevastopol. The greatest heroism was displayed on both sides, although but a portion of the armies—Russian, English, and French—were engaged in the conflict. The loss in killed and wounded seems also to have been very nearly equal.



The Battle of Inkermann.



CHAPTER XXV.

ARRIVAL OF REINFORCEMENTS IN SEVASTOPOL UNDER GENERAL DAN-
NENBERG—A GREAT PITCHED BATTLE CONTEMPLATED BY THE
RUSSIANS—THE PREPARATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS—MEMORABLE
BATTLE OF INKERMANN—HEROISM OF THE LIFE GUARDS—SUC-
COUR AFFORDED BY THE FRENCH—VICTORY OF THE ALLIES—RE-
SULTS OF THE BATTLE.

ONE more great battle on the field was destined to take place, between the armies of Nicholas and their foes, during the lifetime of the czar; and that was the memorable battle of the Inkermann. The number of men involved in this conflict was much greater than in that of Balaklava, and its consequences were much more important.

On the 3d of November, large reinforcements of Russian troops, under General Dannenberg, arrived from Odessa at Sevastopol, and entered the fortress from transports in the harbour. The Grand Dukes Michael and Nicholas, sons of the mighty czar, accompanied them, for the purpose of encouraging the garrison by their presence. On Sunday, November 4th, solemn religious services were held in the town, at which patriarchs and prelates of the

Greek Church addressed the soldiers of the garrison, urging them to their utmost efforts of valour and endurance in the coming battle. They assured the men, that death on the field, in the line of duty, would only be the highway to heavenly glory, and to fadeless immortality. They told them, that the English camp was filled with treasure, one-third of which should be divided among the soldiers. All were urged, by every possible consideration of revenge, fanaticism, hatred, and avarice, to the most desperate exertions to vanquish the allies, to drive them into the sea, and to capture all their baggage, ammunition, and provisions. Such was the object of, and such the preparations for, the great battle of Inkermann.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 5th of November, General Gortschakoff made a demonstration toward Balaklava with his division, as if intending to cut off the communication of the allies with that post, so essential to their safety. This drew a large portion of the allied troops from the centre, leaving their front, in a great measure, unprotected. General Dannenberg, with his new and fresh recruits, was then to attack the main position of the allies. General Soimonoff was to issue from the Great Malakoff fortress, and attack the English on the western extremity of their lines.

By this arrangement the Russians brought 50,000 troops into the field.

The attack having been begun at Balaklava, it was followed up by vast masses of Russian infantry, who assaulted the centre of the English lines, weakened by detachments sent to aid the French under General Bosquet at the former place. The Russians took several batteries erected in front of the English lines, and were advancing rapidly, and in great force and fury, when they were checked by a discharge of the fatal Minie rifles. But their retreat was stopped by the regiments which they met, advancing in their rear. Another conflict ensued, and the English were compelled, by vast superiority of numbers, to fly from their breastworks, and were pursued, still desperately fighting, toward their own camp.

At this critical moment, the 20th and 47th English regiments arrived to the assistance of their overpowered comrades, and made a tremendous onset upon the serried ranks of the advancing Russians. With loud shouts of rage and exultation, the English swept down masses of the Muscovites, who, overcome with sudden terror at this unexpected repulse, began again to waver and to give way. The combat now became exceedingly bloody and desperate. At length even the 20th and 47th

were compelled to yield, and they slowly retreated, under the immense pressure of the Russian squadrons which seemed to swell upward to the heights from some inexhaustible fountain below.

Here was another critical juncture in the fortunes of the day; but the allied armies were again saved from defeat, by the timely advance and heroic stand made by the Life Guards under the Duke of Cambridge. These advanced, with closed ranks, and with fixed bayonets, toward the summit of the hill, which was covered with a living wall of Russian soldiers. Twice, after fearful and deadly collisions, the Russians fled. For the third time a hand-to-hand conflict ensued, in and around the battery which the Russians had taken in front of the English lines, and which the latter had once more captured. Again the Russians succeeded in overpowering its bold and brave defenders.

Meanwhile the whole mass of Russian troops under Dannenberg, 50,000 in number, became engaged; and were resisted by 10,000 English and 6000 French troops. The advance of Soimonoff's *corps d'armée* was met and repulsed by the gallant 2d regiment. From the nature of the ground, the battle assumed the appearance of conflicts between detached groups of the combatants, with victory divided and uncertain between them. But the vast

superiority in numbers, possessed by the Russians, seemed to presage the triumph in their favour. It was now twelve o'clock. The French had been in great part detained at Balaklava by the feigned attack made upon them there. But General Bosquet had by this time discovered the trick, and determined to detach a large portion of his troops to the aid of the English. It was indeed high time. But for this seasonable succour, the Russians had won a signal victory. As the English lines were wavering, in spite of the utmost efforts of heroism and fortitude exhibited by them, the former warriors of Africa rushed to their assistance, and charged the Russians with terrific fury, at the point of the bayonet.

This opportune assistance decided the fortunes of the day. After a brave resistance, the Russians turned, retreated, and fled toward the gates of Sevastopol. Sixteen thousand men had literally defeated fifty thousand; but the slaughter on both sides was fearful. The scene from the battery was awful. Outside of it, the Russians lay dead, two and three deep. Inside of it, the place was actually filled with the bodies of Russians, and with soldiers of the 20th and 50th regiments. All over the bloody field, the dying and the dead were piled in gory heaps. As the calm, clear moon shone brightly that

night, casting her peaceful rays over the ensanguined hills, more than 15,000 dead and dying men, of many nations and from distant climes, encumbered the earth. From the very tents of the English, down the declivities, along the ravines, in the valleys, and upon the undulating hills, even to the Inkerman ruins below, the earth was strewed with human bodies, with arms, with ammunition, with clothing, dead horses, broken artillery wagons, and all the tumultuous wrecks of the conflict. The loss of the English was 500 killed, 1900 wounded; that of the French was nearly equal. The loss of the Russians, in killed and wounded, is admitted to have been 8000 men.

Thus the year 1854 closed, as clouds and darkness were gathering thickly over the fortunes of the ambitious czar. The battle of Inkerman, in which the Russian generals displayed their utmost skill in all the arts and strategy of war, and in which the Russian soldiers fought with a degree of resolution unsurpassed in military annals, was undoubtedly intended by Nicholas to be a decisive blow to the power and prospects of the allied armies. In this purpose, he had been signally defeated. The battle of Inkerman, though the disproportion of numbers was so prodigiously great, was a brilliant victory in favour of the allies.

Nicholas, having received despatches detailing the incidents of this memorable struggle, fell back in his chair in a moody fit of sullen abstraction. Another terrible blow had been struck at his over-towering pride. Again, and for the third time, his best troops had been vanquished; and all his haughty utterances, indicative of his confidence in his irresistible power, became now more and more ridiculous in the eyes of exulting and jeering nations, who rejoiced to see the power of the great czar thus broken and dishonoured. With such gloomy reflections the year 1854 terminated; and Nicholas, in bitterness and indignation, began to make preparations for the ensuing campaign.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SIEGE OF SEVASTOPOL CONTINUED WITH GREAT VIGOUR—THE FAILING HEALTH OF NICHOLAS—DEFEAT OF THE RUSSIANS AT EUPATORIA—EFFECT OF THIS DISASTER ON THE HEALTH AND SPIRITS OF NICHOLAS—HE IS CONFINED TO HIS BED—HIS LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS MINISTERS—HIS INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SUCCESSOR, ALEXANDER II.—HIS LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS FAMILY—HIS DEATH—HIS SUCCESSOR IS PROCLAIMED—THE WORKS OF SEVASTOPOL—GENERAL TODLEBEN—FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

THE hostile armies returned to the renewed attack and defence of Sevastopol. As time wore on, the most extraordinary exertions were continually made, and the utmost resources of the military art were displayed and exhausted, by those engaged in this memorable siege. The allied armies gradually drew parallel after parallel closer around the beleaguered city, and approached their heavy batteries nearer and nearer to its massive fortresses. Although the sufferings of the attacking forces were immense, the final issue of the conflict was becoming more and more apparent and inevitable. Vast reinforcements to the allies were constantly arriving from France and England. Munitions of war were sent in abundance. New generals, full of undaunted

vigour, took the places of those whom death, sickness, and age removed; while the whole public sentiment of the civilized world pressed heavily down upon the cause and interests of the czar. The glory, the romance, the bright halo of anticipated triumph, resulting from the astounding displays of irresistible military power which Nicholas had been expected to make,—all had now passed away. A black and gloomy pall of disaster and disappointment had settled down over the conflict, and especially over the future fortunes and destiny of the insolent czar. All Europe exulted, as defeat followed after defeat, and as the proud despot was compelled to endure one mortification after another. All Europe, except Prussia alone, hoped for the coming of that momentous hour, when the final and complete discomfiture of the Russian autocrat would become the welcome signal for one general and enthusiastic outburst of exultation and derision, from Edinburgh to Madrid, from Constantinople to Teheran, from the gay capital of France to that of bleeding and downtrodden Poland.

But disappointment and defeat, unexpected as they were, both by the czar, by his subjects, and by the rest of Europe, had been accomplishing their rapid and destructive work upon the high-mettled spirit of the autocrat. He who had spoken in such

omnific and arrogant tones, of not permitting England and the Western Powers, to do this or to do that; who had treated the sultan as an imbecile, degraded, and defenceless pensioner on his own forbearance and mercy; and had spoken of disposing of his dominions and of his fate, as things of transient moment,—even he had been repeatedly vanquished; his proudest armaments had been routed; and all his most sonorous and portentous boastings turned into ridicule and contempt. The terrible *prestige* of Russian omnipotence had fallen to the ground. The days of the transcendent and unclouded glory of the Romanoffs were numbered, and had even already ceased to be!

These things produced their effects on the haughty spirit of Nicholas. During the concluding months of the year 1854, he lived in a continual state of feverish irritation, restlessness, and wretchedness. His nature had turned to gall, and bitterness had become the prevalent element of his thoughts and feelings. It became dangerous for his most favoured ministers to approach him, unless expressly sent for. His despatches to his generals were full of upbraidings; and his ill-humour became a matter of general and undisputed notoriety. As 1855 opened, his mental malady became worse; and it began to act reciprocally upon his physical health. His manly

features began to lose their freshness. His symmetrical figure stooped, and became tremulous and unsteady. That eagle eye, which had caused so many of the stoutest and bravest of men to quail before him, had lost its brilliancy; it turned no longer boldly and defiantly upward and around him, but dwelt in gloomy and sinister glances on the ground. It was readily perceived, by those who were near his person, that an inward malady gnawed at the heart of the dying czar, which no earthly medicine could cure. Even glorious and complete victory,—now forever lost to his shattered and dishonoured arms,—could scarcely cause those faded cheeks to bloom again with their pristine, roseate hue; or could administer a sufficient salvo to his wounded pride; or heal the mortal diseases of his mind. Persia, Poland, Turkey, and myriads of unknown and unrecorded wretches, to whose desolate spirits happiness had forever become a forbidden word, through the relentless tyranny which he had exercised toward them in the day of his stupendous power and pride,—now were they all abundantly avenged!

During the months of January and February, 1855, Nicholas had been suffering under a mysterious disease, caused by mental excitement; which resembled, in its leading symptoms, more than any

thing else, an attack of pulmonary apoplexy. The apoplectic features of his disease were caused by his long-continued and intense mental excitement. The pulmonary affection resulted from the congestion of his lungs, which had been gradually superinduced by his absurd habit of tight-lacing,—a habit which prevails extensively among Russian military officers, and is supposed to add symmetry and elegance to the figure. A similar consequence is not unfrequent, from the same cause, among others who indulge in it.

While in this state of nervous excitement, as well as depression, Nicholas received news of the defeat of the Russians in their attack on Eupatoria. This city was defended by 28,000 Turks, under Omar Pacha. According to the orders of Nicholas, it was attacked by Menschikoff, with 40,000 infantry and cavalry. His army advanced within twenty yards of the ditch; but the heroic and desperate resistance made by the Turks compelled them to retire in confusion. Unable to withstand the terrible and well-directed fire of the garrison, the Russian troops fled in disorder from the field. The loss of the Russians, in killed and wounded, was very severe; and the whole affair was an ignominious and disgraceful defeat to the arms of the czar. This disaster was the last of which Nicholas was destined to hear.

His end rapidly approached. His disease was fearfully aggravated by the news of this defeat at Eupatoria; and about the 25th of February, 1855, he was compelled to retire to his bed.

He immediately sent for his physicians, and demanded an undisguised exposition of his physical condition. He was informed that he could survive but a very few days longer. He received the information with unflinching fortitude, and at once resigned himself to his inevitable doom. He sent for the ministers of his cabinet; they gathered around his bed, and he gave them his explicit instructions in reference to the affairs of their various *bureaux*, on the occasion of his death. He designated his eldest son, Alexander, as his successor, and expressed his confident belief that his ministers would serve his successor, as faithfully as they had served himself.

The next day he held an interview with the Grand Duke Alexander, his successor. He explained to the prince, at some length, the policy which had guided him during his past reign, and especially during the progress of the war in the East. He enjoined upon him to assert and maintain the same principles during his own reign; and never to conclude any treaty or arrangement in hostility to those principles. He informed the Grand Duke, that he

had prepared complete memoranda for the guidance of his future conduct, suited to all the possible contingencies of the war. He conjured him never to depart from the directions contained in those memoranda; but to marshal all the resources of his empire to enforce their execution, as completely as if he himself still lived, to guide the helm of the ship of state through the storms which now raged so furiously around her. To all these solemn injunctions, the amiable grand duke promised the most faithful obedience.

On the day preceding his death, the emperor summoned around him his august family. The parting scene between the dying autocrat and his affectionate relatives, was peculiarly affecting; and those appalling eyes, so long unused to the melting mood, did weep abundant tears at his approaching separation, from those whom alone on earth he loved with the ordinary, yet intense, instincts of humanity.

At length, having concluded this painful scene, the emperor called for the last succors of religion. They were administered to him by the archbishop of St. Petersburg; and they were received with an expression of devout and grateful appreciation. During his whole life, the czar had ever been loud in his professions of orthodox piety; and hence these last religious observances were but in con-

sistency with his long continued conduct previously.

Having performed this last duty, Nicholas quietly disposed himself to die. Impressed with the solemnity of his situation, his last hours seemed to be employed in serious thought and devotion. His sufferings were very intense; yet he met his fate bravely and calmly, in perfect consistency with his previous character as exhibited during his whole life. At length, on the 2d of March, 1855, surrounded by his weeping family, and by a few attached attendants of the imperial household, this strong, stern, powerful man closed his eyes forever on this sublunary world, over whose destinies he had exercised so long and so deleterious an influence. He died in the fifty-ninth year of his age.

The report of his sudden death filled the civilized world with astonishment; and it may also with truth be said, excepting his own dominions and that of Prussia, with exultation. As the sole and direct cause of the war in the East, men regarded his dissolution as a retribution from heaven, for his insatiable and unprincipled ambition; and they thought that it was just that he, who had become the messenger of death to so many myriads, during the thirty years of his reign, should himself, at a pre-

mature age, taste the bitterness of that cup, which he had compelled them to experience.

As soon as the death of Nicholas I. was known, the Grand Duke Alexander was proclaimed as the second of that name. The obsequies of the late czar were performed with extraordinary pomp at St. Petersburg. Alexander II. quietly succeeded to the possession of the throne of all the Russias; and his accession was soon acknowledged by the powers of Europe, which were not involved in the conflict in the East. True to the belligerent instructions left behind him to his successor, by Nicholas, Alexander II. determined to continue the war, and to insist upon the exorbitant demands already made by his predecessor, without any alteration or abatement. The bright hopes which so suddenly sprang up in the minds of millions, like the auspicious dawn of a glorious and peaceful day, on the death of Nicholas, were destined to be sadly disappointed; and the storms of war still continued to throw their gloomy pall over the troubled horizon of the East.

The situation of Sevastopol is admirably adapted for a great military and naval position. It is built on the southern bank of a large inlet of the sea, which is four miles in length, from its entrance to its termination at Inkerman. The breadth of the entrance is 1100 yards. The banks of this inlet

are surmounted by those massive fortresses, whose attack and defence have given such celebrity to the war in the East. The commercial portion of the town is situated west of the Military Bay which divides Sevastopol into two nearly equal parts. Here are many handsome streets, fine edifices, and beautiful churches. In the military portion of the city, there are erected enormous arsenals, storehouses, barracks, and hospitals. The entire city occupies a space about three miles long, and two miles wide. Fort Quarantine, at the entrance of the harbour, is an immense fortress. Fort Alexander, a short distance farther up the inlet, mounted 84 guns. Opposite to it, on the northern shore, Fort Constantine was armed with 104 guns, in three tiers. Fort Sevastopol mounted 87 guns; Fort Nicholas contained 192 guns; Fort Paul was furnished with a battery of 80 guns; Fort Catherine held 120 guns; while the Mamelon, the Malakoff, and the Great Redan bristled with hundreds of cannon of the heaviest calibre. Altogether, about 1000 guns presented their formidable array against the attacking foe, protected by fortresses of vast size, height, and strength.

We will not follow the details of this memorable siege;—a siege, which we may term, without exaggeration, one of the most remarkable recorded in

history. Passing by the numerous details of minor conflicts and assaults, as not included within the legitimate object of this portion of our work, which designs to trace the general effects and ultimate results of the power and influence of Nicholas,—we will come to the final and grand assault upon the fortresses of Sevastopol, which commenced on the 5th of September, 1855.

After the death of Lord Raglan, General Simpson had been appointed to fill the vacancy. General Canrobert, on the plea of ill health, had retired from the supreme command of the French forces, and General Pelissier had been promoted to his place. A large body of Sardinian soldiers had joined the allied armies before Sevastopol, and their numbers served to aid in accomplishing the immensely difficult task before them.

The whole months of July and August were employed in making constant preparations for renewing the attack, upon a scale of magnitude and importance hitherto unheard of, in the annals of sieges. Mortars of colossal size were brought up to the front of the lines. Cannon of prodigious strength and calibre were thickly strewed in front of the Russian battlements; and an inexhaustible quantity of ammunition was prepared, and made ready for use. During the long tedious months of a memorable

year, the allied armies had toiled, with stupendous exertions, before the huge works of Sevastopol; and now those brave soldiers were determined to bring the desperate and exhausting conflict to a termination. A struggle for the final mastery of the place, of the most tremendous fierceness and fury, was about to occur; and to decide forever the possession of this boasted and favourite bulwark of Muscovite pomp and power, in the southern portions of their dominions.

During the progress of the siege, several very remarkable characters had been developed, whose celebrity was entirely owing to the great facilities afforded by this contest for the display of their peculiar qualities and talents. On the side of the Russians, the most distinguished person was General Totleben,* to whose superior talents as an en-

* Francis Edward Totleben was born at Mitau, in Courland, on the 20th of May, 1818. His father was J. H. Totleben, and his mother's maiden name was A. Sophia Sander. His father, having removed his business to Riga, took thither his young son, and soon after died. After receiving the first portion of his education in the schools of Riga, the young Totleben was admitted to the college of engineers in St. Petersburg, where his name now shines, engraved in letters of gold, with the inscription, "Sevastopol." When the war broke out he was second captain in the corps of field-engineers; he distinguished himself under General Schilters in the Danubian campaign, and then repaired to the Crimea. What he did at Sevastopol belongs to history. Out of an open city he succeeded in raising, under the enemy's fire, a formidable fortress, that resisted for nearly a year the gigantic efforts

gineer, the prolonged resistance of Sevastopol against the allies, is to be in a great measure ascribed. He strengthened the existing works. He erected others, with a degree of rapidity and skill which astounded even the most experienced and able of the Russian officers; and he directed the attack and defence of the artillery with the utmost ability. His name has become immortal in connection with the sanguinary story of Sevastopol.

Another remarkable character developed in this siege, and which has become adorned with imperishable lustre, of a very different and nobler character, is that of Florence Nightingale;* a young English

of the allied armies. In less than a year he passed through the grades of captain, lieutenant-colonel, full colonel, major-general, adjutant-general, and received, among other distinctions, the decoration of the 4th, and then of the 3d class of the order of Saint George, which is only conferred for distinguished deeds. Seldom has a mere general of brigade received this high distinction. Besides himself, it was only conferred on his noble companion-in-arms at Sevastopol, Prince Wasiltchikoff, who, more fortunate than he, was able to remain at his post to the last hour, whereas Totleben, having been wounded in the foot, had to be carried out of the besieged city. Strange to say, so rapid a promotion has not excited the least envy, but has been saluted with acclamations, as being due to real merit—to courage combined with genius.

* Florence Nightingale, one of the most devoted of her sex, and one of the bravest and tenderest of human souls, undertook the grave task of alleviating the sufferings of the dying heroes. To the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, the secretary at war, is due the credit of suggesting to Miss Nightingale the idea of forming a corps of experienced female nurses, and of proceeding to Scutari, to supersede the incompetent

lady, whose Howard-like benevolence of character, united with her extraordinary intrepidity, induced her to visit the scene of this terrible conflict, and devote herself to the difficult and dangerous work of nursing the sick and wounded, in the camp of the allied armies. The thanks and benedictions of hundreds whom she has saved from greater suffering,

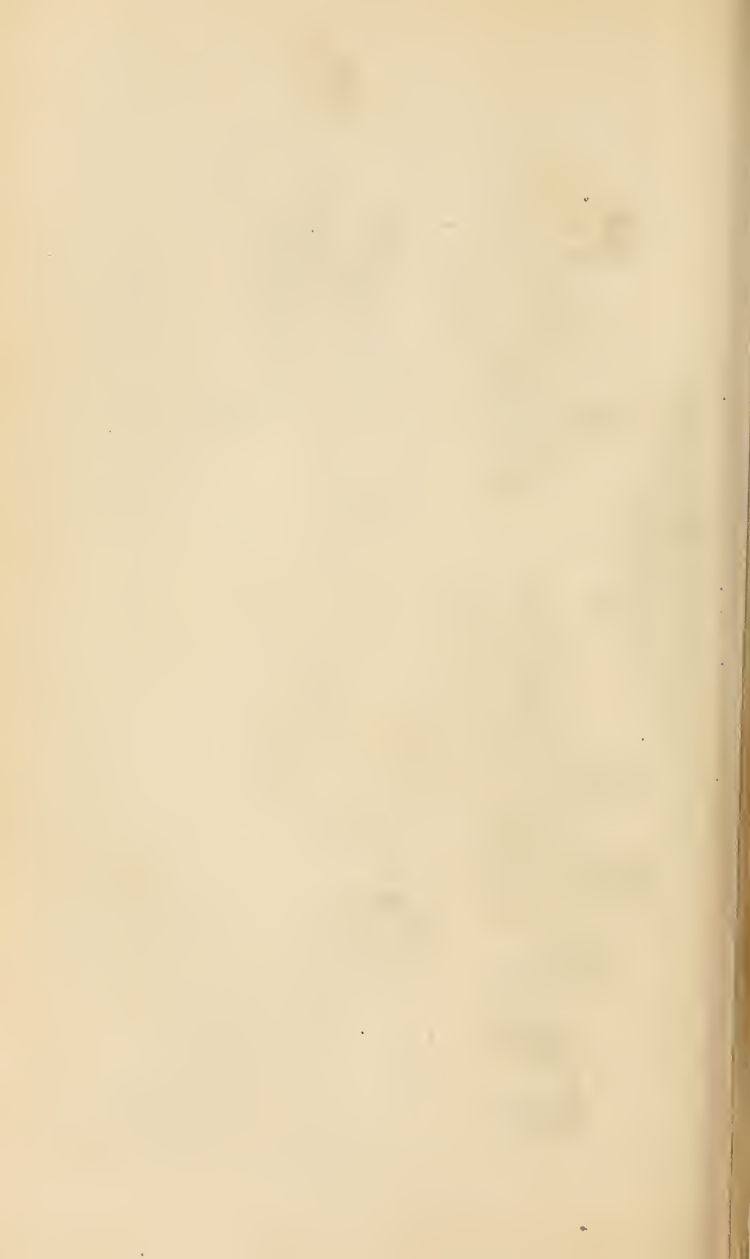
“orderlies.” But a woman of less devotion might well have shrunk from such a duty. Florence Nightingale, however, at once responded to the invitation, and accepted as her mission a task, the performance of which demanded not only the utmost energy of body and activity of mind, but a self-denying zeal rarely witnessed in these later days. As pre-eminently the heroine of the war, this admirable woman deserves more than a passing notice. Still young, very little more than thirty, her earlier years had been passed amid all the luxuries and refinements of opulence. Her family was wealthy, and her paternal home was a noble mansion among the hills of Derbyshire. As the young Florence grew to womanhood, she became deeply impressed with the importance of the subject of hospital-management, and took advantage of a Continental tour to inspect and become familiarly acquainted with the principal establishments for the care of the sick throughout Europe. On her return she projected an institution for the support of aged and infirm governesses, who could no longer, from failure of bodily health or advance of years, maintain themselves. She succeeded in establishing the institution, and entirely devoted herself to its management. Henceforward, her mission was decided; and renouncing all the attractions and personal advantages offered by her social position, this elegant and accomplished young woman devoted herself to the work of assuaging the misfortunes of her less happy sisters. From this duty—always repugnant from its very nature, often unthankful—she was only called by the still stronger claim of the perishing warriors in the East. With characteristic promptitude, she soon formed a body of nurses, some, like herself, ladies who emulated her own example, some paid and practised hospital attendants; but all of them possessing real knowledge

and from death, will attend her memory, while their lives endure; and wise and good men, in every clime, will regard her virtues and her labours, with that undying admiration which they so richly deserve.

of their duties, and of proved ability and experience. No mere amateurs, who might mistake kindly feeling and zeal for aptitude, were admitted, but only those to whom suffering and death were familiar objects, and who had given evidence of the possession of nerve adequate to support the trying scenes they would encounter, and of unwearying patience and kindness to the sufferers.—See “*Sevastopol,*” by Emerson: London, 1855.



The last grand Attack and Capture of the Malakoff.



CHAPTER XXVII.

PREPARATIONS FOR A FINAL ASSAULT ON SEVASTOPOL—THE BATTLE OF TCHERNAYA—RESULTS OF THE BATTLE—COMMENCEMENT OF THE GRAND ASSAULT—THE SECOND DAY—THE THIRD DAY—CAPTURE OF THE MALAKOFF—THE FAILURE OF THE ENGLISH ATTACK ON THE REDAN—THE RUSSIANS EVACUATE THE SOUTHERN PORTION OF SEVASTOPOL—STUPENDOUS VICTORY OF THE ALLIES—HOSPITAL SCENES IN SEVASTOPOL.

DURING the interval, employed by the allies in making the necessary preparations for the final assault on Sevastopol, the Russians seemed to have suspected, or ascertained, their purpose; and in order to render their coming attack less effective and formidable, Menschikoff determined to try once more the effect of a grand attack upon the position of the allies. This resolution resulted in the third and last conflict upon that position which occurred between the belligerents. The first was the battle of Balaklava; the second was that of Inkerman; the third, and not the least important, was that of the Tchernaya.

On this occasion Prince Gortschakoff led the attack in person. In the early dawn of the 16th of

August, 30,000 Russians, supported by 160 cannon, issued from the works of Sevastopol, and approached the hills of Tchernaya. They carried pontoons, and appliances for crossing the stream bearing that name, which was also spanned by two bridges. The Russians first succeeded in throwing several divisions across the river; and in attacking the extreme left of the French line, commanded by General Camon. They also advanced across the bridges, and attacked the 20th regiment of the line. The attack and the resistance were furious. The 97th regiment of French chasseurs arrived in time to the assistance of the 20th; and the Russians were driven back over the bridge. As they passed it, the Sardinian artillery drove a flood of iron hail through the mass of living flesh, and the havoc made by them was fearful.

The advancing Russians on the right of the French position, attacked the latter under General Fancheux with such prodigious fury, that the latter was compelled slowly to retreat, until he reached the summit of the hill. There the French re-formed, and charged down upon the Russians with such desperate energy, that the latter, in turn, fled in confusion toward the bridge of Traktir. While that bridge was choked with the tumultuous mass, the Sardinian batteries were opened upon them, and, as

in the other instance, the most dreadful havoc was effected among them. Toward evening the Russian commander slowly drew off all his forces from the field. His losses were tremendous. He left behind him 3000 dead, and 5000 wounded. Among the dead was General Read, a distinguished Russian officer, on whose person the allies found a complete plan of the attack. The allies lost 300 killed, and 1200 wounded.

The desperate purpose of the Russians in this movement, was therefore not accomplished, and on the 5th of September, there opened on the batteries of Sevastopol, the most terrific assault ever recorded in the sanguinary annals of sieges and battles. The approaches had been brought so close to the Russian works, in many places, that a stone might easily have been thrown from the one into the other. At four o'clock in the morning of this memorable day, the signal for the general attack was given, by the discharge of three fougasses against the counter-scarp of the Central Bastion; and instantly, along the whole line of the works of the besiegers, extending four miles in length, a prodigious deluge of shot and shell was poured upon the works of Sevastopol, accompanied with a tremendous roar and thunder, which shook the very earth, which reverberated for many miles, and which wreathed in volcanic fires,

amid the early darkness of morning, the whole horizon around.

The garrison of Sevastopol was evidently taken by surprise. For some minutes they could make no answer to this infernal salute ; but after the lapse of a short interval, their guns began to reply. During that entire day, the bombardment was incessantly continued ; and when night arrived, serious damage had been effected against the battlements, and portions of the town had been set on fire.

On the 6th of September, the attack was renewed, if possible with greater vigour than before. When the morning dawned, the effect of the preceding day's bombardment was apparent. The Malakoff had suffered greatly. Large portions of the abattis had been swept away. Many of the embrasures were destroyed. The city of Sevastopol itself was almost a heap of ruins. The storm of shot and shell to which its edifices had been exposed, had desolated and destroyed its fairest and best portions. The ships in the harbour were found to be on fire ; and an explosion, during the course of the 6th, took place in a Russian magazine, which effected terrible havoc and destruction. During the whole of the 6th, the bombardment incessantly continued ; nor was it suspended for a moment, during the whole succeeding night. The 7th had been appointed as

the day for the last grand assault; and no interval was given to the besieged, to prepare for the terrific encounter.

At length the memorable 7th of September dawned;—a day pregnant with the forthcoming destinies and disasters of myriads of human beings. The allied commanders had arranged the plan of attack as follows:—The French were to assault the immense tower of the Malakoff. The English were then to throw themselves on the Great Redan. The right attack on the Little Redan was to be simultaneous with this. The assault on the extreme left was to be conducted by five regiments of French chasseurs and Zouaves. On the right, General D'Autremarre, together with Niel's and Breton's brigades, were to attack and seize the Mast Bastion. The Sardinians were to aid in this last movement. Ten regiments of reserve were posted in a proper position to watch the Russian army of reserve, in case the latter might attempt a diversion in favour of the assaulted works.

At twelve o'clock on the 7th, the French troops advanced from their trenches, toward the Malakoff. The previous fire of three days had silenced, at this time, nearly all the guns of this vast fortress; and the French troops had but little difficulty in reaching its summit with their ladders, and leaping into

the interior of the works. Then followed a desperate and bloody conflict. General Bosquet, who commanded the French, was severely wounded, and was compelled to retire to the camp. After prodigious struggles, repeatedly renewed by the Russians, to expel the French from the Malakoff, the former were compelled to retreat, and to leave this vast fortress in the possession of its heroic assailants.

The order was now given for the English troops to advance to the assault on the Redan. Between the trenches and this fortress an interval of 240 yards existed, and the ground was exceedingly broken. The Redan had suffered less from the previous bombardment, and nearly all its guns were yet mounted and effective. They poured a terrible shower of shot on the advancing English, already sufficiently broken by the roughness of the ground. Many were killed; and when, at length, the survivors reached the Redan, their scaling-ladders were found to be too short to reach the breach. Hundreds were here massacred by the guns of the Russians; but soon, in spite of every obstacle, the British soldiers began to enter the broken works. But here their greatest danger and disaster commenced. An inner work commanded the position thus entered by the English, and the Russian

guns from it poured death into the serried ranks of the assailants, confined in the narrow space of the exterior walls. For two hours a dreadful conflict here ensued between the desperate combatants; and Colonel Windham, who commanded the English, achieved prodigies of valour, which have rendered his name one of the most distinguished in connection with this memorable siege. At length, the English were entirely and completely repulsed from the Redan, in spite of their heroic efforts and sacrifices.

The French attack on the Little Redan and Central bastions were not more successful. Again and again their desperate courage won these works; and as often, the Russians, more desperate than they, by prodigious exertions, repossessed them. Night settled down at last upon the sanguinary and awful scene. The attack was to be renewed on the 8th, and doubtless, it would have been successful. The evidence of this is the fact that the Russian commander himself considered it thus; and hence, during the night of the 7th of September, Menschikoff quietly evacuated all the forts on the southern side of the city. When morning broke, flames arose from every quarter. Long lines of troops might still be seen, crossing the bridges which led to the northern portion of the town. Soon tremendous

explosions rent the air. Fort after fort, bastion after bastion, exploded. The ships in the harbour, one after the other, began to sink; and the astounded allies saw, as it were, the formidable fortresses of rock and iron and wood, crumbling and disappearing through a mysterious agency, before their eyes, and from their grasp. Had the Russian commander not been disappointed in the springing of some of the mines which he had constructed beneath the fortresses of Sevastopol, after his defeat and its capture, it is probable that every one of them, on the southern side, would have become a mouldering ruin; and would have buried beneath their shapeless masses thousands of their unfortunate assailants. Fortunately, the savage purposes of Menschikoff were defeated, to some extent, by accident and by the neglect of his agents.

During this last bombardment, the English lost 400 killed, and about 2000 wounded. The French lost about 2000 killed, and 5000 wounded and missing. The Russians lost 2600 killed, 7000 wounded, and 1700 missing. Between the battle of Tchernaya and this last assault, their losses amounted to 18,000 men.

This memorable siege, of one of the strongest fortresses in the world, lasted about one year. At least 100,000 men perished, from wounds, priva-

tions, and diseases, within and around its walls. The besieging army mounted 800 guns, and fired 1,600,000 rounds of shot. The open trenches covered an extent of fifty-four English miles, in the different parallels. Facts like these will give some idea of the vastness, magnitude, and difficulty, attending this memorable conflict; whose progress and ultimate issue have so justly and so universally occupied the absorbed attention of the whole civilized world.

The allied commanders immediately took possession of the works which they had won, and which had been deserted by the enemy in despair. A large portion of the fortresses, together with all the arsenals, hospitals, and barracks of the Russians, also fell into the hands of the conquerors. The scenes of horror presented by these places, the last refuge of thousands of wounded and dying Russians, left behind by their retreating comrades to the mercy of the allies, beggar all description; and fill the soul with unutterable disgust of the pomp and circumstance, the grandeur and littleness, the ferocity and barbarity, of "civilized warfare."

The building used as an hospital was an immense pile, in the inside of the dockyard, at right angles with the line of the Redan. It was peculiarly exposed to the action of shot and shell bounding over

the Redan ; and it bore in its sides, roofs, windows, and doors, frightful and numerous proofs of the severity of the cannonade. In long, low rooms, supported by square pillars, arched at the top, and dimly lighted through the shattered and broken window-frames, lay the wounded Russians. The dying and the dead were piled together in one undistinguishable mass ; packed as closely as they could be stowed ; some on the floor, and others on wretched pallets of straw, which were saturated with their blood. The horrid situation of these wounded and still surviving wretches may be imagined, amid the thunder of the exploding fortresses, amid the roar of shot and shell pouring through the roof into the rooms in which they lay ; and amid the crackling and hissing of the burning edifices around them on every side. Some attempted to crawl about, in spite of their wounds ; seeking, if possible, to escape from the horrors of the scene around them. Others, rolling to and fro in their mortal agonies, uttered unearthly screams ; and, glaring with their dying eyes on the intruding stranger, implored relief from their sufferings, or the boon of a speedy death. Many, with legs broken, with arms shattered to fragments, with ragged splinters of bone protruding through the raw flesh, with crushed heads and bleeding wounds, were writhing in torture, and

cursing the severity and wretchedness of their fate. Others, again, as if conscious of the near approach of death, were praying, and striving to employ their few remaining moments in making preparations to meet their Judge. Some of them presented the appearance of a horrid mass of bloody clothing and broken bones; and in other cases, such shapeless forms were blackened with fire and smoke; yet they still moved, and raved, and suffered. The bodies of some were bloated to a horrible and unnatural size, with eyes pressed out from their sockets, or with swollen tongues protruding from their mouths, on which their exposed teeth were tightly and painfully compressed. These, and such as these, were the spectacles, fit only for the realm of pandemonium, which were presented to the view of the victors, after their herculean task had been accomplished, and Sevastopol had fallen into their power. These, and such as these, were the calamities which inevitably followed, as the results of the warlike ambition of Nicholas; and it may truly be said, that for all these horrors and sufferings; for all the endless train of disasters and calamities which were inflicted on myriads of human beings, on the ensanguined plains of the once fertile and happy Crimea; for the thousands of families which were made desolate by these rude storms of war, in

England, in France, in Turkey, and in Russia; and for that immense host of unpurified souls who were suddenly summoned hence,—

Cut off, even in the blossom of their sins;
No reck'ning made, but sent to their account
With all their imperfections on their heads,—

for these things only one man is held chiefly responsible, in the supreme and impartial chancery of Heaven; and that one man is Nicholas I. !*

* The south side of Sevastopol includes the Malakoff, the Great Redan, the Lesser Redan, Flagstaff Bastion, Central Bastion, Quarantine Fort, Forts Nicholas and St. Paul, the Garden Batteries, and the second line of defences. The north side includes the great Fort of Sieverna, called also the Star Fort; and the entrance to the harbour is still defended by Fort Constantine, with three tiers of guns, the Wasp Battery, and the Telegraph Battery.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SEPULSURE OF THE RUSSIANS AT KARS—VICTORY OF THE ALLIES AT KINBURN—VISIT OF CZAR ALEXANDER II. TO NIKOLAIEFF—TO ODESSA—HIS RETURN TO ST. PETERSBURG—THE AMBASSADOR FROM PERSIA TO THE CZAR—THE MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY—THE GRAND DUKE CONSTANTINE—CAPTURE OF KARS—GENERAL MOURAVIEFF—TREATY OF PEACE—TERMS.

By the fall of Sevastopol, the heaviest blow in the war seemed to have been struck, and the most difficult and dangerous achievement accomplished, by the allied armies. The Russians continued to bombard the southern portions of the town, from the batteries still in their possession. The Malakoff, and the French quarters in the western part of the south side, were attacked with especial fury. The injury done, however, was of no serious moment; and, safely ensconced in their hardly-earned bulwarks, the conquerors might defy the imbecile vengeance of the humbled foe.

The British and French soldiers soon began to clear away the mouldering ruins of the city, and to repair the dismantled fortresses. In the interior of the Crimea, disaster followed disaster on the side

of the Russians. On the 29th of September, under Mouravieff, they attacked the works of Kars, which were manned and defended by the Turks. After a bloody conflict of seven hours, the assailants were compelled to retire, with the loss of 3000 killed and 5000 wounded. The loss of the Turks was about 700 killed and wounded. The Russians were compelled, for a time at least, to abandon the siege of the place. Next followed the capture of the Russian fortress of Kinburn by the allies, by which the whole force under General Koianovitch, 1500 in number, surrendered to the conquerors. This victory secured to the allies one of the outlets of the Dnieper.

During the progress of these events, the Emperor Alexander had been sojourning at Nicolaieff and its vicinity. The report of these continued misfortunes is said to have affected his reason while at this place. His anxiety and mortifications had superinduced indications of the approach of the constitutional disease of the Romanoffs—partial insanity, accompanied by erysipelas—although the attack was slight, and very probably temporary. The capture of Kinburn by the allies was witnessed by the czar, and by the Grand Duke Constantine, from one of the spires of Otschakow; and it was the near approach of the hostile army which induced the czar

to retire from Nicolaieff toward his northern capital. He returned to St. Petersburg, without delaying at Warsaw, as he had previously intended to do.

During the sojourn of the czar at Odessa, several incidents of interest occurred. He received the military and civil employés, and a deputation of the merchants of Odessa, who were honoured with the privilege of presenting bread and salt to the emperor. He expressed his firm conviction, that Heaven would grant a favourable issue to the war, and preserve the power and territory of "Holy Russia." He attended divine worship in the cathedral; and there the archbishop, Innocent, presented to him the cross and the holy water, and addressed him with the following words: "Pious sovereign! thou hadst scarcely put on the crown of thy ancestors, when it pleased Providence to surround it with thorns. Our bodily eyes are not accustomed to see such an ornament sparkling on the head of kings; but the eyes of faith see in it, with piety and respect, a souvenir of the crown of Christ. Have not, indeed, such crowns been worn by the most pious kings and princes, from David, Jehoshaphat, Constantine, Vladimir the Great, to Demetrius, the hero of the Don, and finally thy patron, Alexander Newsky?"

"Have courage, and let not thy soul become weak at the sight of these smoking brands," said

the prophet to the warrior-king, Ahaz, when the two kingdoms of Israel and Assyria united against him in an unjust war. Enter then, O pious sovereign! the temple where once thy august father came, in the depth of night, to raise toward Heaven his thanks for having escaped the tempest and shipwreck: enter, and in thy turn raise with us thy prayers to the King of kings, for the cessation of that tempest which now rages both on land and sea. May Heaven grant that this temple may again see thee kneeling before God; but then only to render acknowledgments, and to give him thanks, for victory!"

During the sojourn of Alexander II. at Odessa, a Russian nobleman observed, in conversation with the czar, that the restoration of an honourable peace, but only an honourable one, would restore the prosperity of the city. Alexander replied, "Who is there that does not desire such a peace? I, more than any one else."

On his return to St. Petersburg, the czar, on the 9th of November, issued an order, by which that capital was declared to be no longer in a state of siege, in consequence of the withdrawal of the allied fleet from the Baltic. At the same time, he dismissed Prince Menschikoff, the favourite and veteran servant of the Czar Nicholas, from his position

as chief of his staff, and appointed General Oldenburg in his place. This act of the sovereign is regarded as a partial expression of censure upon the prince, for the active and belligerent tone displayed by him in the inception, and during the progress, of the war. Immediately on his return to St. Petersburg, the youthful czar was called upon to give an audience to the ambassador sent by the Shah of Persia, to felicitate him on his accession. It will be remembered, that after the accession of Nicholas, among the many brilliant delegations from many sovereigns, whose presence graced the streets and palaces of Moscow at his coronation, the Shah of Persia was not represented.

But on the accession of his successor, a different spectacle was exhibited. An imposing embassy, consisting of six of the most distinguished personages of the Persian court, attended by a numerous and splendid retinue, waited upon the czar, and tendered to him the congratulations of their sovereign. Prince Beboutoff entertained the strangers with a sumptuous banquet; and among the toasts given, the ambassador proposed the health of the faithful and constant ally of the Emperor of Russia, his highness the Shah; and afterward, that of the Emperor of Russia, the friend and ally of the mighty ruler of Persia. It is said, that the Shah and his

prime minister had received the most magnificent presents from the cabinet of St. Petersburg, in order to induce them to despatch this embassy to the czar, as a proof to all the world, at this crisis, of the peaceful and friendly sentiments entertained by the Shah of Persia, toward the Muscovite sovereign. A trick of state policy so desperate as this, would seem clearly to indicate the presence of conscious weakness, and the existing necessity of employing every possible means of husbanding not only material resources, but also of manufacturing public opinion, in favour of the czar.

Notwithstanding the fact that Alexander has inherited a war, the conduct and progress of which shock the moral sense of the civilized world, his own amiability of temper, and excellent personal qualities, have won for him general esteem and sympathy. He is not regarded as a person of much decision of character, or of much mental ability. It is known, that the anxiety and toils of his position exceed his intellectual and physical strength; and that the advent of peace would afford to none of his harassed subjects more genuine pleasure than to himself. In person, he is tall and well-proportioned; and his countenance, with its symmetry, combines a shade of serious melancholy.

The Grand Duke Constantine, who is the favourite

of the old Russian party in the nation, is much better adapted to bearing the burden of empire. He is a man of violent character, passionate and obstinate. He resembles very much his uncle, Constantine, the former sanguinary governor of Poland. He is High-Admiral of the Russian fleets. In person he is short and stout; his countenance is indicative of his disposition, and his whole personal appearance is devoid of attractive or pleasing qualities. The present empress, wife of Alexander II., is distinguished for her beauty, amiability, and accomplishments. She is beloved, not only by her husband, but by her husband's brothers, the grand dukes; and by none of them more than by the savage Constantine himself. The latter is said to have recently proposed to the czar a most dangerous and desperate expedition. It was none other than that he should arm and equip the whole fleet of Cronstadt, and sail to the attack of London. He proposed that he should burn and destroy the capital of the British empire by one sudden and tremendous *coup-de-main*, and thus "carry the war into Africa." The calm good sense of the empress discerned the destructive peril of this proposition; and though it was urged with the utmost vehemence by Constantine, her benignant influence over the czar succeeded in defeating his attainment of the ap

proval and permission of the sovereign. Constantine, like his uncle, has been made familiar with the laws, the government, the resources, and even the language, of Turkey; in the expectation that, at some future period, he may be called upon to realize in his person the ambitious purpose of the Romanoff dynasty, that one of its members may yet, in time to come, sit upon the throne of the Constantines, and wield the sceptre of the Ottoman sovereigns.

At a subsequent period, the Russians, under General Mouravieff, having received large reinforcements of troops, renewed their attack on the fortress and city of Kars. The vast importance of this place called forth the utmost exertions of the assailants. The result, in this instance, was more favourable to the Russians; for the garrison capitulated, after a desperate and bloody conflict, which continued for some weeks. And it is but just to observe, that the extremes of famine and suffering, much more than the valour of the Russians, or the skill of their commander, Mouravieff, contributed to the fall and capture of this fortress. For nearly a month previous to this event, the heroic garrison had endured the utmost distress, verging upon starvation itself. The whole country around was filled with Russian detachments, which cut off every possibility of relief. Sixteen thousand

troops, one hundred and twenty field-pieces, and nine pachas, became the trophies of the successful Mouravieff.

This general is one of the ablest and most distinguished officers engaged in the Russian service. He was born in 1793; entered the military career as officer of the general staff; then served in the Caucasus, and was sent by General Yermoloff to Khiva. On his return he published a narrative, throwing the first light which illumined that hitherto unknown region. In the Persian campaign of 1828, he commanded a brigade under Paskiewitch, and distinguished himself at Akaltsik and Kars, then taken by storm. In the Polish campaign of 1831, he likewise fought with much distinction, and as a lieutenant-general, headed the right wing at the storming of Warsaw. Toward the end of 1832, he was sent as plenipotentiary to Mehemed Ali, in order to bring the Egyptian prince to peaceful terms in his conflict with the Porte. The mediation was unsuccessful. Ibrahim Pacha, son of Ali, being victorious over the Turks near Konieh, advanced toward Constantinople; and Mouravieff then took the command of the Russian troops, who landed on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and stopped the progress of the ambitious vassal. In 1835, Mouravieff took command of the 5th corps of the army.

In 1838, he fell under the imperial displeasure, for having, during a grand military manœuvre or *slam-fight* near St. Petersburg, where he commanded one side, and the emperor the other, uncourteously made his master prisoner. Retiring from active service, he either lived on his estate, or travelled in Europe,—travelling being the resort of Russian noblemen when in disgrace. In 1848, he was again received into favour, and took command of the corps of grenadiers, then considered the second best in the Russian army. From this station, after the resignation of Prince Woronzoff in 1854, he was transferred to the command of the Transcaucasian Russian possessions, and of the army in Asia. Mouravieff unites in his person all the characteristics of his family. He is energetic and stubborn, and is considered by the scientific officers of the army as an accomplished general; indeed he is by some regarded as the only Russian strategist. As a political man, he is wholly imbued with the so-called orthodox, ultra, old-Russian Muscovite ideas and convictions.

After the capture of Kars, the Russians were actively engaged in improving and enlarging the fortifications of the north side of Sevastopol, until they rival or excel, in strength and magnitude, those which have been already won, by the desperate

valour of their foes, on the south. Nor has the firing ceased, on the part of the Russians, upon the position of the allies; but the fury and vigour of their cannonading, from their present position, have increased; and have not unfrequently recalled the vivid memory of the most destructive conflicts which occurred during the former siege.

And we regard the sentiment as both so important and so true, as to merit reiteration here: that for all the varied events connected with the war in the East; for the loss of myriads of human lives; for the poverty, deprivation, and gloom, which have afflicted many nations; for the vast amount of physical suffering which has been endured; for the suspension of commerce; for the derangement of finances; and for the desolation of one of the fairest countries of Europe,—mankind are indebted alone to the insatiable ambition of Nicholas I.; to his unscrupulous disregard of existing treaties; to his selfish inhumanity; and to his fixed, though baffled, determination to set up his despotic throne in the city of the sultan, in spite of the remonstrance, or even the resistance, of several of the most powerful nations of Christendom.

But happily for mankind, the pernicious potency of Nicholas ended, in a very great degree, with his life. The present czar, Alexander II., is imbued

with a more rational and pacific spirit; and in spite of the stringent instructions which his father left behind him for his guidance, requiring great sacrifices and concessions to be made by the Allies before peace could be proclaimed, he has exhibited a disposition to terminate the war in the East on reasonable and not exorbitant conditions.

In pursuance of this spirit of the reigning czar, an armistice was proclaimed between the belligerent forces early in the year 1856; and, in a few weeks afterwards, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, France, Great Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, duly accredited from their respective governments, assembled in Paris, to arrange the preliminaries and the conditions of a treaty which should give permanent peace to a troubled continent.

On this important and memorable occasion, which involved the vital interests of so many millions of human beings, Austria was represented by Count Buol; Russia, by Count Orloff; France, by Prince Walewski; Great Britain, by Lord Clarendon; Sardinia, by Count Cavour; and Turkey, by Ali Pacha,—diplomatists of the highest eminence and celebrity in Europe.

On Sunday, March 30th, 1856, the long and arduous labours of these plenipotentiaries terminated.

The draft of the general treaty of peace drawn up by the *Comité de Rédaction* having, in the sitting of Saturday, obtained the sanction of the Congress, the plenipotentiaries of the contracting Powers met the next day to proceed to the formal act of affixing their signatures to the document. M. Feuillet de Conches, chief of the protocol department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, had caused seven copies of the treaty, written on parchment, to be prepared and placed on the table of the conferences, in such a manner that each copy was put before the plenipotentiaries of the government by which it was to be ratified. After the text of the seven copies had been carefully compared, the plenipotentiaries proceeded to affix their signatures to the end of the treaty. Count Walewski, as President of the Congress, signed first, and the other plenipotentiaries in the alphabetical order of their respective countries. It was at this moment that the emperor was informed by electric telegraph that the treaty of peace was signed, and his Majesty sent back word to the members of the Congress that he would be ready to receive them after they had concluded their task. But, although the mere act of affixing their signatures occupied the plenipotentiaries but a very brief portion of time, yet the whole of the formality of signing

lasted nearly two hours, as the plenipotentiaries, in addition to their signatures at the bottom of each protocol, had to affix their initials to the different paragraphs, the whole number of such minor signatures being, it is said, thirty-eight. The plenipotentiaries of each contracting Power signed first the copy reserved for their government, and then the other plenipotentiaries signed in alphabetical order. In this manner, each contracting Power figuring at the head of the signatures of the copy which it is to ratify, all difficulties as to etiquette or precedency were avoided. To each signature was immediately attached the privy seal of each plenipotentiary. Immediately after the close of the sitting, all the plenipotentiaries went together to the Tuileries, where they had the honour of being received by the emperor. Cabinet couriers were sent off in the evening to London, Vienna, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Turin, and Constantinople, in order to submit the treaty to the ratification of their respective sovereigns.

The first point of this treaty implies a material guarantee—the neutralization of the Black Sea—the only high-road to Constantinople for a Russian fleet. Russia is to destroy her arsenals and forts in the Black Sea, which is to become a com-



mercial sea, with European consuls in its ports. On the land side, the Danubian Principalities are to form a barrier against any further attempt at aggression by Russia.

The second point has a moral, political, as well as a general object. Russia renounces all pretension to interfere in the internal administration of Turkey, which latter enters into the great family of nations.

The Emperor Alexander II. has solemnly declared that he renounces sincerely and completely the traditional policy of Peter the Great and of Catherine II., as regards the extension of the Russian Empire in the East.

The third point guarantees the freedom of the navigation of the Danube to all countries.

The fourth point guarantees the immunities and privileges of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

The fifth point was less open. It concerns Nicolaieff, which will be dismantled, the Aland Islands, Ismail, and Bomarsund. All these points have been satisfactorily settled.

The treaty was signed with a quill expressly prepared for the occasion. The plenipotentiaries intended each to retain the pen with which he signed his name and made his flourishes. But

the empress having expressed a desire to preserve the quill with which the treaty was signed, the plenipotentiaries acceded to her wish, and a pen was accordingly provided for this distinguished purpose. An eagle's quill was selected, which was elegantly mounted in gold and gems. Why this bellicose emblem was chosen, instead of a more pacific goose-quill, does not appear.

The moment the signatures were completed, a telegraphic signal sent to the *Invalides* indicated the happy consummation; and a hundred and one discharges of artillery proclaimed in tones of thunder, to the astonished and delighted inhabitants of the capital, the welcome tidings and auspicious news of "peace on earth, and good-will to men."

This much-discussed treaty of peace was signed on the anniversary of a great event. On that day, forty-two years ago, was fought the battle of Paris, the last act of the great drama of which Europe was the theatre; and on the following day the Russians entered the capital, and dictated terms of peace where now their ambassadors have come to ask for it. On the following day, which was cold, sombre, and cheerless, the Allies entered Paris. That France is now able, in concert with her allies, to dictate peace to Russia, may be considered as full

satisfaction for the unparalleled but retributive disasters inflicted upon the arms of Napoleon I. in his prodigious struggles with the Russian power;—disasters which culminated in his memorable campaign to Moscow, and on the ensanguined plains of Leipsic.

Some of the points which France and England are likely to occupy will obtain great commercial importance. Such are Trebizond, Smyrna, and Candia. These three places are situated on the grand commercial high-roads of the East; and the power which will possess them, though only for a time, will certainly secure immense advantages.

The guarantees of future peace, which Europe owes doubtless to the union of all the Allies, proceed mainly from the good sense, energy and justice of Napoleon III. A single war, declared at the right period, has solved the most ancient, complicated, and redoubtable questions; and there is not a nation to whose industry, security and prosperity it has not generally and gloriously contributed. Moreover, the position of France is such as could not have been dreamed of by the most devoted and ardent friends of the principles of 1789 and of the glorious dynasty which represents them. However noble and desirable be the vic-

tories of French soldiers, the moral triumph is even more desirable and to be admired. Napoleon I. subjected Europe ten times, but he never persuaded it; five times he defeated the coalition, but he never dissolved it. Napoleon III. will have the happiness of gaining morally those victories which Napoleon I. could never obtain in a decisive and entire manner on the field of battle. He will have achieved greater things in enlightening and convincing Europe than in defeating it. Under the influence of former prejudice, France troubled the States, while to-day there is not one that she has not reassured. It is, therefore, an immensely significant fact, both in a national and European sense, this solemn reconciliation of aristocratic and absolute Europe with imperial France. Europe has found an opportunity to acknowledge and confess its wrongs against civilization.

The event which is now accomplished will be recognised by impartial history as one of the most memorable facts of our epoch, not alone because it solves one of the gravest questions of modern times, but above all, from the fact that it is the starting-point of a new era in the pacific interests, the policy, and the stability of Europe. For eighty years past has the Eastern question been sus-

pended, like a perpetual menace, over the European States. The policy of France had already attempted to solve the question, in the time of Louis XVI., in the interests of civilization and the general equilibrium. At the meeting and treaty of Tilsit it was the greatest and almost the only preoccupation of Napoleon I. At length this formidable question, which governments once feared even to look in the face, so great were its complications and perils, has been settled. Turkey, and the dangers which menaced the empire and independence of the Sultan, were only a portion of the drama which was to break out sooner or later in the European concert. From the time of Peter the Great, St. Petersburg has been the centre of an insatiable ambition, the aim of which was the domination of Europe, whose instruments were conquests and invasions. Constantinople—that eternal desire of the czars, around which they had drawn a network of aggressive policy, the fruits of a hundred years of patient efforts, intrigues, treaties, and menaces—was only a halting-place in the march of Russia. Europe was threatened on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Euxine, in Sweden, in Germany, even in Prussia and Austria. The treaty of Paris preserves, at the same time, the Ottoman Em-

pire and Europe from danger. Turkey has henceforth nothing to fear from the ambition of Russia. Between that ambition—honestly renounced by the Emperor Alexander II.—and the Ottoman territory, the treaty of Paris has raised a barrier which no human power can transgress with impunity; nor has Europe any thing further to apprehend from the once aspiring and portentous aggressions of the great dynasty of the Romanoffs.

Appendix.



APPENDIX.

No. I.

SCHAMYL, PRINCE OF THE CIRCASSIANS.*

SCHAMYL was born in 1797, at the aul Himri, and was therefore thirty-seven years of age when he became chief of the Tshetshenzes. In early youth he was distinguished by an unbending spirit, a serious uncommunicative manner, an irrepressible thirst for knowledge, and an indomitable pride and ambition. He frequently remained in seclusion for days together; and the wise mullah, Djelal Eddin, managed to inflame him in his enthusiasm in favour of the Koran. Instructed in the prevailing doctrine of the Sefatians, he awakened the slumbering passion in the bosom of his disciple, and prepared him for his great future. This education had its fruits; and from the day when Schamyl became the successor of Hamsed Bey, all foreheads were abased before the countenance of the master.

Schamyl is also the worthy head of the fiery sect whose prophet he has been chosen. He is of middle growth, fair, almost red-haired—especially in his beard, where there are also a few gray hairs,—has gray eyes, a well-formed nose, and a little mouth. A marble calmness, which least deserts him in the hour of danger, governs his whole behaviour; and his speech is totally free from excitement, whether conversing

* Extract from "*Circassia*," by Dr. Frederick Wagner: London, 1853.

with friend, foe, or traitor. He is convinced that his actions are direct inspirations of God: he eats little, drinks water only, sleeps but few hours, and passes all his leisure time in reading the Koran, and in prayer; but when he speaks, he has—so says Berek Bey, the poet of Daghestan—

“Lightnings in his eye, and on his lip, flowers.”

He is, in fact, master in the highest degree of that Oriental eloquence which is so fitted to rouse the sleeping souls of the faithful; and he manages to outbid the Russian generals in their metaphorical language.

If the Russians say that they are numerous as the sands of the sea, Schamyl replies that the Circassians are the waves that wash away the sands.

At first, Schamyl resided in the little fortress of Achulko; where he had himself a European house of two stories, constructed by Russian deserters and prisoners. At first his government was so poor, that the soldiers had to supply him with the means of existence; and yet religious enthusiasm had rendered him as powerful as if he had possessed tons of gold. His slightest word was sufficient, and his Murids were ready to go to the death for him. None of the chiefs of Daghestan before his time had wielded such authority. Even Sheikh Mansoor, who carried the standard of revolt through the whole of Circassia,—the mighty hero, the high-minded sower in the fertile field of faith,—was only a famous and dreaded warrior; but Schamyl is not only general and sultan of the Tshetshenzes, but also their prophet; and since 1834, Daghestan's war-cry is—“Mahommed was Allah's first prophet; Schamyl is his second.”

Just at the time when General Grabbe thought he had annihilated Schamyl's consequence as well as himself, by the storming of Achulko, the power of the daring chief rose to its height. Imagine the appearance of the prophet among the

trites, just at the moment when the news of the total destruction of Achulko was rumoured abroad! It was believed that he lay buried under the ruins, and on a sudden he stood in the midst of them, as if arisen from the dead! His divine mission was no longer doubted; and a victory could not have made him more popular than this heroic defeat!

After the loss of Achulko, Schamyl determined to preach the holy war to the Teherkesses, and to incite them to join in his resistance. A similar attempt which he had made in 1836 among the Avars—that people of Daghestan so long subjected to Russia—had not succeeded. He had hoped to bring about an alliance of the Caucasians of the Euxine with those of the Caspian; for the latter—with the sole exception of the Avars—had all assembled under his flag, and formed a single nation.

It would be possible to inflict a very severe blow upon the Russians by such a co-operative union with the Teherkesses. Schamyl went to the Ubiehs and the Adeehs, and was respectfully received, although without coming to any decided result. The hatred of Russia is certainly a mighty tie between the peoples on both sides of the Caucasus; but centuries of petty dissensions between the various tribes have loosened this tie, and loosen it more and more every day. In addition to this, there was another hindrance to the community of action which the brave chief was attempting to bring about, in the variety of language which existed; and Schamyl was only understood by the chiefs and mullahs, as he could only preach the war in Turkish, and thus not give his eloquence the power which he otherwise displays.

At length, especially after the great defeat of the Russians at Dargo, the Teherkesses of the Black Sea, fired by the report of Schamyl's deeds, attempted on their part some attacks upon the Russians, and frequently broke through the lines of defence guarded by the Cossacks. They even took

four fortresses; but contented themselves with plundering, and not garrisoning them. Three or four battles fought with great skill by the Russians forced the Tcherkesses to retire, and content themselves with a merely passive opposition.

When Prince Woronzoff undertook the command of the Caucæus, Schamyl was no longer the inconsiderable chieftain that he was when in the train of Hamsad Bey. His power was now enormous. The Avars, the Kists, the Kumucks, and other tribes, were so carried away by the eloquence of the prophet, that they forgot their ancient feuds to ally themselves with the Lazes and Tschetehenzes. Formerly lord over a few small tribes, he was now commander of a whole nation. Of course it must be seen that to mature such a combination, the most powerful efforts of a politic and experienced mind must have been employed.

Schamyl, however, is not only a brave warrior, but also a wise lawgiver; and it was necessary that he should be this, in order to create and organize his nation: and to effect this it was necessary to subdue the hereditary chiefs of the tribes, to found a theocratical monarchy amid the barbarianism of semi-slavery, to spread the one faith in all hearts, to accustom savage horsemen to regular tactics, and to institute enduring customs.

And this he accomplished. The new doctrine he preached befriended the sects of Omar and Ali: his victory dazzled the sons of the mountains, and humbled the pride of their princes. The races who once combined in a common war for their religion, were united by him under the same evil administration, and the old territorial names disappeared.

At the present time the country under the government of Schamyl is divided into twenty provinces, each under the care of a naïb or governor. These naïbs do not all possess equal power, but four only among them—the nearest and fastest friends of the prophet—are regarded as the sovereign

Commanders of their subjects; the others send in their decisions for confirmation by the chief.

The organization of the army is a master-piece of acutely-meditated precision, for it is constituted in a way calculated and designed to render possible the utmost strictness of discipline, without damping the natural warlike feelings of his subjects. Every naïb keeps 300 horsemen at the disposition of the state; and the conscription is so conducted, that out of every ten families one horseman is drawn, and that family is free during his life from all taxes, while the other nine have to furnish his outfit and sustenance.

This is the standing army. Besides this, there is a kind of national guard or militia. All the male inhabitants of a village are required to exercise from their fifteenth to their thirtieth year in the use of arms and in riding. Their duty is to defend their villages when they are attacked, but when it is absolutely necessary they follow the prophet in his distant journeys. Every horseman of the line then commands the ten families whose representative he is.

Hamsad Bey was the first person who formed a distinct corps of Russian and Polish deserters, among whom there were also a few officers. Schamyl has increased it to about 4000 strong of all nations, with many technical improvements. But his body-guard consists of a thousand picked Murids, who get somewhere about six shillings a month pay, and a proportion of the booty. They are called *murtosigates*, and it is a subject of emulation in the villages to get an appointment in this special body.

Schamyl, who is well acquainted with the fact that the Oriental mind is overcome by magnificence, never moves from his dwelling without a train of 500, although it has been said that it is from the motive of safety as much as any thing, as a portion of his empire is discontented with his system of government.

It need scarcely be said that Schamyl makes the most effective use of the credulity of the mountain races. Every time that an important expedition is about to be undertaken, he retires to a grotto or a mosque, where he spends weeks in fasting and communion with Allah. When he returns from this solitude, he announces openly the result of intercourse with the Deity

He has established posts throughout all Daghestan; for state despatches every village is obliged to provide one or two additional horses, and the messengers, who are furnished with a pass signed and sealed by the district naïb, get over great distances in almost fabulous time.

In his military arrangements he has so far imitated the Russians as to institute orders, marks of honour, and distinctions of rank. The leaders of 100 men, who signalize themselves in action, receive round silver medals, bearing appropriate poetical inscriptions; the leaders of 300 men receive three-cornered medals; and those of 500, silver epaulets. Before 1842, sabres of honour, to be worn on the right side, were the only marks of distinction distributed. Now the leaders of 1000 receive the rank of captain, and those of a larger number are generals. Cowards are distinguished by a piece of baize on the arm or back.

At first, Schamyl's income consisted only of the booty, of which a fifth was the share of the chief, according to ancient custom; now, however, regular taxes are levied. The estates which formerly were appropriated to the mosques, and only benefited the priests and *derveeshes*, are now state property; the priests receive instead a regular stipend, while the *derveeshes* fitted for war are incorporated with the militia. The useless members of that body were banished from Daghestan.

The most distinguished of the fellow-warriors of Schamyl were Aehwerdu Mohammed, Ahwail Mullah, and Ulubby Mullah.

The punishment for civil as for military crimes, for theft, murder, treachery, cowardice, and so on, are set down in a code written by the prophet himself; and the punishment of death is rendered more or less severe or degrading according to a fixed ratio of delinquency.

Schamyl lives very moderately and soberly; he eats little, and only sleeps a few hours at a time, and at some seasons—especially when in a condition of religious enthusiasm—not for some days together. He has only three wives; and his favourite wife is an Armenian woman—perhaps the cousin of the Mosdok merchant, who, however, says he has only two.

How far Schamyl's fanaticism will go in its fearful consequences, the following circumstances, related to a Russian officer by one of the most intimate Murids of the Imaum, will show:—

In the year 1843, the inhabitants of the Great and Little Tshetshna, pressed on all sides by the Russian troops, and left helpless by the Laz communities, determined to send a deputation to Schamyl with the entreaty that he would either send them a sufficient number of troops, not only to defend themselves, but also to drive the Russians altogether out of the Tshetshna, where they had erected Fort Wosdwischen-skaja, and had seriously established themselves; or, if this were not possible, to empower them to *submit to the Russian government*, as all their means of resistance were at an end.

For a long time no one was found willing to undertake so delicate a mission; for to approach Schamyl with such a proposal was to dare death itself. The Tshetshenzes were therefore forced to select their deputies by lot; and the lot fell upon four inhabitants of the village of Gunoi. Their native pride would not permit the Tshetshenzes to manifest the sentiment of fear, even when in the most imminent danger; the chosen band, therefore, undertook the mission without hesitation, and promised the people to induce the Imaum either

to promise military assistance in their defence against the Russians, or to allow them to submit to their formidable enemies.

The Gunojes departed on their journey with determined courage; but the nearer they came to the aul Dargo, the louder was the voice whispering of self-preservation, and the stronger the light which showed the hazard of their enterprise. They took counsel several times among themselves as to the best way they might begin the business, without, however, coming to a decided issue, on which to build the slightest fabric of hope. At last, the eldest of the deputies, the experienced Tshetshenz Tepi, said, turning to his companions: "You know that not only the people in general, but even the Murids next to the mighty Imaum, dare not pronounce the words, 'Submission to the giaours,' unpunished. What, therefore, would be our fate if we dared to come before the face of Schamyl with such words upon our lips? He would immediately command our tongues to be cut out, our eyes to be blinded, or our heads to be cut off; and all this would not benefit our nations in the least, but only desolate our families. In order to avert certain destruction, and to gain a portion of our desires, I have thought of a more feasible plan."

Tepi's companions urged him to tell them this excellent scheme.

"As I have heard," continued Tepi, "there is only one person who possesses undoubted influence over the Imaum, and who dares to say before him that which would bring destruction over others; this is his mother. My kunak (host) Hassim Mullah, at Dargo, would gladly introduce us to her; especially if we present him with a portion of the money we have brought with us."

The other ambassadors were perfectly content with this proposal, and empowered their comrade to do as he thought fit.

On their arrival in Dargo, they were hospitably received by Tepi's kunak; and Tepi made use of the first opportunity to acquaint Hassim Mullah with the object of their mission, and to entreat his co-operation in the proposed manner.

"What! Do you think," exclaimed Hassim Mullah, thrown off his guard, "that I could be so dishonourable as to put my hand to so wretched a business as a submission to the *giaours*?"

Tepi put his hand in his pocket, and allowed a handful of gold-pieces to drop upon the carpet before him. Hassim Mullah's countenance changed altogether in expression, and he requested his friend to tell him the circumstance once more, as he evidently had misunderstood them. At the same time, he inquired how many pieces of gold he had brought.

"Three hundred," replied Tepi. "All the tribe subscribed together to make up this sum, to support our petition. Here are seventy; the other two hundred and thirty we will present to the khanum, if she succeed in obtaining her son's permission for our submitting to the Russians."

"It is well," said Hassim Mullah. "I will speak with the khanum, and hope to obtain for you what you desire, if you are agreed to give two hundred only of your remaining gold pieces to the khanum, and the other thirty to me."

The ambassadors were willing to enter into this arrangement. Hassim Mullah went to the khanum, an aged woman, much beloved on account of her charitable deeds, but who was herself avaricious, and declared herself ready to speak with her son about the matter, the danger of which she did not, however, conceal for one moment.

The same evening she entered her son's apartment, when, Koran in hand, he was despatching the Murids who were standing about him, with instructions to cause some other of the tribes to revolt.

Notwithstanding this pressing business, however, from which he was unwilling to be taken, he gave his mother the audience she so urgently entreated, and went with her into a room, where their conversation continued until past midnight. It has never been accurately known what passed between them; and when Hassim Mullah came to the khanum next morning to hear what she had been able to do, he found her pale, and with tears in her eyes.

“My son,” she said, with a trembling voice, “dares not himself to decide the question about the Tshetshenzes submitting to the Russians. He has therefore gone to the mosque, to await the moment in fasting and prayer, when the great Prophet with his own mouth will make his will known.”

Schamyl had indeed shut himself up in the mosque, after giving instructions that all the inhabitants of the Dargo should assemble round the mosque, and await his return in prayer.

At this summons all the people assembled, and surrounded the mosque with loud eries and prayers. But three days passed; many of the pious sank under the want of sleep and food, until at last the door opened, and Schamyl came forth, pale and sorrowful. After whispering a few words to the Murids next to him, he ascended the flat roof of the mosque, several persons accompanying him.

Here he remained standing for some minutes, while all the people looked up at him with anxious looks, and the deputies from the Tshetshna scarcely dared to breathe.

Suddenly the Murid sent by Schamyl returned with the khanum, and conducted her also to the roof of the mosque. The Imaum commanded her to stand opposite to him, and then exclaimed, raising his sad eyes to heaven—

“Great Prophet! thrice holy are thy behests; thy will be done!”

He then turned to the people, and said, with a loud voice—
“Inhabitants of Dargo! Fearful is that which I have to

tell you! The Tshetshenzenes have conceived the horrible idea of submitting to the dominion of the giaours, and have actually dared to send ambassadors here with their vile proposition. Well these deputies knew their evil doings; therefore they came not before me, but addressed themselves to my unhappy mother, who weakly gave way to their urgency, and brought the desires of these miscreants before me. My tender consideration for my beloved mother induced me to inquire of Mohammed himself, the Prophet of Allah, what his will might be. Therefore have I for these three days and nights, with fasting and prayers, called upon the name of the Prophet, sustained by your prayers. He has esteemed me worthy of a reply. But how horrible for me was his decision! According to the will of Allah, the first who made this proposition known to me is to be punished with a hundred blows of the whip; and the first—that I have to tell it!—was my unhappy mother!”

When the poor old woman heard her name mentioned, she broke into loud lamentations; but Schamyl was immovable. The Murids tore off the long veil of the khanum, bound her to a pillar, and Schamyl himself took the whip to execute the dreadful sentence. At the fifth stroke, however, the khanum sank to the ground dead. Schamyl fell at her feet amid agonies of tears.

Suddenly he arose from the ground, and his eyes sparkled with joy. He arose, and said, solemnly—

“God is God, and Mohammed is his prophet! He has heard my prayer, and allows me to take upon myself the remainder of the blows to which my poor mother was condemned. I do it with joy, and acknowledge it to be an inestimable mark, O Prophet, of thy loving-kindness.”

And rapidly he threw off his upper garments, and commanded two Murids to give him the remaining ninety-five blows. They did so, and he never altered a muscle of his

countenance. After the last one, he silently resumed his clothes, descended quickly from the roof of the mosque, and standing amid the terrified populace, he inquired calmly—

“Where are the wretches for whose sake my mother had to suffer this cruel indignation? . Where are the deputies from the Tshetshna?”

“Here! here!” resounded from a hundred voices, and in the next minute the unfortunate persons were at the feet of the fanatical lord.

No one doubted that a frightful death awaited the four Tshetshenzes, and some Murids drew their sabres ready for the first word of the Imaum. The miserable villagers lay flat with their faces to the earth; in an agony of terror they breathed their dying prayer, and dared not raise their heads to beseech a pardon they deemed impossible. But Sehamyl himself raised them up, and bade them take courage, saying—

“Return to your tribe, and for answer to their treacherous request, tell them all that you have seen and heard here”

No. II.

PRINCE WORONZOFF, GOVERNOR OF THE
CRIMEA.*

MICHAEL WORONZOFF was born in 1782, at St. Petersburg, and is the son of a distinguished statesman, Count Simon Woronzoff, who subsequently died in London, whither he had been sent as ambassador. As he had fallen into disgrace after the death of Catherine II., his son remained some time longer in England, and there received his education. Alexander, however, had scarcely ascended the throne, ere he summoned the young count from banishment, and appointed him to the office of chamberlain. But a court life was not the sphere for the young man, and he therefore soon entered the Caucasian corps, then commanded by the brave Georgian, Prince Zizianoff, as a lieutenant.

After remaining in the Caucasus up to 1805, the Prusso-French war called him to Germany. He took part in it up to the peace of Tilsit. In 1807, war broke out with Turkey, and Woronzoff went to that country as a colonel. In 1810 and 1811, he distinguished himself considerably, and was advanced to the rank of major-general. In 1812, Napoleon commenced the Russian campaign; a peace was immediately concluded with Turkey, and the troops were concentrated to repel the enemy. Woronzoff also took part in the war, and after Napoleon's expulsion from Russia, he accompanied the

* The succeeding Appendices are extracted from several English works not generally accessible to American readers.

army, in its onward march through Germany, to France. After the conclusion of the war, he went to England, where he always was fond of residing, until he was recalled, in 1823, to undertake the government of Bessarabia.

Here, in fact, begins his famous career, which for thirty years he has pursued in the service of the czar. He was the man who carried out the plans of the two founders of Odessa, and under whose administration commerce flourished. In Woronzoff's time arose the palaces and dwellings of Odessa; but he did not confine his energy to his metropolis, but, wherever his power reached, he worked with creative zeal. The lonely steppes to the north of the Black Sea, inhabited before by restless Noghais and their cattle, but deserted on the annexation of the territory by Russia, again became full of people, although gradually and sparingly. Town and country became inhabited; and the German colonies about Odessa rejoiced in a state of prosperity never before granted them. Prince Woronzoff also made great improvement in the Crimea. Associating his efforts with those of some other Russian nobles, he attempted to win the south sides of the mountains for agriculture. The colonies of those regions cost millions of silver rubles, especially the vineyards, the palaces—in a style between the Moorish and Gothic,—the Turkish buildings and fountains, and Italian villas, interspersed among the simple Tartar huts. The far-famed Southern Crimea, however, will remain an enemy to any advantageous culture.

With the year 1845, a new epoch in the life of Woronzoff begins, by being transported to a new field of action, in consequence of a ukase by which the governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia, Count Woronzoff, was also created governor-general of the Caucasian province and commander-in-chief of the Caucasian armies. We have already mentioned the astonishment with which this appointment was

regarded, and with the power placed in the hand of one man, and one who, it was thought, was no great favourite of the czar.

In this new and dangerous career, Woronzoff first obtained a protection against all interference, by which Reidhart had been cramped in his enterprises, and demanded for his own undertakings complete jurisdiction. The "Caucasian Commission" of St. Petersburg was therefore closed, and Woronzoff was responsible to the czar alone.

No long time elapsed ere he appeared in Tiflis; but, however benevolent and kindly he might appear in the metropolis, he was very severe in the provinces, and in a few weeks a dozen gallows held as many robbers—robbers either in reality or by imputation.

Of what kind his fortunes in war have been, we have already detailed in the history of the war. But Woronzoff has also regarded the lands confided to his care with other eyes. By his affability he won the hearts of the Georgians or Grusians, who were by no means as faithful subjects of the Russians as the Armenians, and who, but a few years before, sympathized with Russia's enemies. Schamyl was active in Tsherkessia, and would no doubt have had great success, if the wily governor-general had not used *his* influence against him, and employed a method against which humanity would certainly rebel. Prince Woronzoff suspended the edict prohibiting the selling of Tsherkessian girls to slavery in Turkey, and believed himself perfectly right in saving his conscience by inserting a conditional clause, that the girl herself must consent before she could be sold. In fact, Tsherkessian girls go to Turkey, especially to Constantinople, very willingly, as their superiority of intellect usually helps them to play a distinguished part; and in later years they not unfrequently return to their homes with handsome fortunes.

It is, however, a sad fact, that this trade with Circassian

and Georgian girls has its dark shadow even for them. The unfortunate creatures who are usually "shipped" at Trebizond on board the steamer, reach Constantinople in a very sad and pitiful condition. On their passage they are as jealously watched as if they were casks of leeches for the Marseilles market. They are kept as much apart from the other passengers as possible, and they huddle together on the main deck, in their dirty clothes, like so many negro slaves. Usually they are soon covered with horrible skin diseases and vermin, the reason of which is easily divined. They are usually sold by their parents or relations, on account of poverty or avarice, and delivered to the slave-dealers all but naked. To clothe them in clean, proper dresses, would swallow up all the profit. A ragged shirt, and a piece of linen round their shoulders, is the costume in which they herd together, and whisper to each other their future splendour, or dream perhaps of their country, which has thus sent them forth to strange lands. The slave-merchant feeds them with characteristic stinginess during the voyage, upon water and oatmeal. It may be easily imagined that they arrive in a condition on which few connoisseurs would care to pass an opinion. Occasionally, when the dealer is anxious to "realize," he drives them into the market just as they are, or, at most, casts over the poor things' shoulders a *firidschi*, the mantle usually worn by Turkish women. A bargain is generally a hazard. The buyer keeps as far away as possible from his goods, and then drives them before him to the institutions where they are "got up" for the harems. A number of old women make a business of polishing up this raw material. By the employment of remedies, held secret, the girls are soon cured of their diseases, cleaned, and put into proper attire, so that they would hardly be recognised as the same beings who passed so wretched a time on board ship.

By the abrogation of this interdiction, Prince Woronzoff gained

his point; and Schamyl's emissaries returned without success. He used the favourable humour of the Tsherkesses yet more by gaining the friendship of several princes by rich presents. All the provinces of Daghestan—even those who, like the mountaineers of Tabasscran, did not at all acknowledge the supremacy of Russia, but the inhabitants of which did not make common cause with Schamyl—were united by Woronzoff into one government, and the brave Armenian prince, Argutinski, elected sovereign.

Prince Woronzoff, now about seventy-two years of age, is of a middle stature, and very rough and ready in his way, and he first wins your heart after some conversation and acquaintance. His face does not bear the impress of his inward geniality of mind, for his forehead is low, and his features have no particular expression. But although he himself loves simplicity, under certain circumstances he surrounds himself with a magnificence very little in consonance with his character. Since he has pitched his camp-court at Tiflis, this is more usual than it was at Odessa. Of course, magnificence is of greater power in Asia, where the people may be juggled by it, than in Europe.

Persons who have resided for any time in the immediate train of Prince Woronzoff, assure us that he is not only a good father as far as his household is concerned, but that he is in fact a father to all his inferiors. All his actions have something chivalrous and noble about them; and, setting aside the fact of his having attained the confidence of his master in the most conscientious way, he employs a great part of his income in bettering the condition of his lands and of his subjects.

No. III.

THE COSSACKS.

THE Cossacks, who owe their importance not to their numbers but to their character, may materially influence the future fortunes of Russia, either for good or for evil. Even Haxt hausen, who sees every act of the government in the most favourable light, declares that the attempt to abolish their privileges is fraught with danger; and he earnestly recommends the czar, in spite of apparent success among the Little Russian Cossacks of the Volga and the Ukraine, to abstain from interference with those of the Don and the Ural. He describes them as the freest people in Europe, and states that they possess the most complete internal liberty. Neither czar nor noble can hold land in their territories; and, far from paying taxes, they, on the contrary, receive allowances for their chiefs, and for the widows and orphans of those slain in battle.

Every Cossack between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five is liable to military service, and is bound to provide his own arms and horse, and must maintain himself while employed in his own district; but when beyond it, he is supplied by the government with forage, rations, and a small amount of pay. They formerly elected their hetman and officers; but these are now appointed by the czar, and it is not usual to find a Cossack intrusted with the former post. When the hetman receives an order to raise a contingent, he summons all those who are fit for service to the market-place. They then ascertain what proportion the number required bears to those from whom they are to be selected; and if, for instance, it proves to be one in three, they separate into groups of three. One of these says, "I will give so much not to serve;" the others

then say what they will give to be exempt; and the biddings are continued till one of them says, "I can offer no more, I must go," and he is entitled to the sums named by the others. In 1837, the Cossacks of the Ural, having already despatched to the army of the Caucasus two-thirds of their men liable to service, had only 3300, out of about 12,000, at home, when, owing to the exigencies of the war, they suddenly received an order to furnish an additional 2200 men. In three weeks, the four regiments of 550 men each, were mounted and equipped, and the 1100 rich Cossacks who remained at home, had paid down in a few days the incredible sum of 1,500,000 rubles to the newly-raised recruits.

The Cossacks generally cultivate their land on the communal system; but Haxthausen gives a curious account of the hay-harvest among those of the Ural. It is forbidden to cut hay in their steppes before the 1st of June, when those only who are engaged in military service are privileged to commence. At break of day the hetman gives the signal, and each soldier goes to work at the spot which he has selected. He knows that on the following day the whole tribe will begin, and he, therefore, taxes himself to the uttermost, for he is entitled to the produce of as much ground as he can, without assistance, cut a swath round by sunset. But judgment as well as strength is required; for, should he not complete his circle, his neighbours may enter upon his ground, and he becomes the laughing-stock of the tribe.

In ordinary times, the Cossacks furnish for police and military duty 126,000 men and 224 pieces of artillery; but these figures may be enormously and almost instantaneously increased. In some cases, where nearly all the men have been destroyed, the tribe has been compelled to receive colonists drafted from other parts of the empire. Thus, in the years 1809-11, the Emperor Alexander compelled the Black Sea Cossacks to receive among them 20,000 strangers; and as a

large proportion of these fell victims to the climate, 25,000 more were sent to the Kuban in 1825.

Although their name comes to them from a Tartar tribe, which was to be found at the foot of the Caucasus a thousand years ago, the Cossacks are mainly of Russian blood, dashed, indeed, with that of Turks, Poles, Serbs, and Tartars. The greater part of them are Starovirtzé, or *members of the old faith*; that is to say, they belong to the Greek, but not to the Russian Church. They have a strong sympathy with their brethren in faith, who are scattered throughout both Great and Little Russia. The latter have resisted every influence that has been brought to bear upon them, from the time when Peter abolished the Patriarchate; and neither persecution nor concession can make them conform to the Imperial State Church. They hold to ancient customs, not in religion only, but in all things; and the government dreads the unseen opposition of the Starovirtzé, whenever it is meditating any religious innovation or internal change.

Great as have been the services of the Cossacks from the time of Jermak down to the present day, they are now more necessary to Russia than ever. They are her only efficient warriors in the Caucasus; they afford a cheap and faithful guard for her advanced posts and extended frontier in Asia; and they furnish an internal police which could scarcely be replaced, as her other Christian populations have a strong antipathy to mount a horse. But there is yet another and a more important task which they have to fulfil for Russia before she destroys them. Maurice Wagner, in his work on the Caucasus, entreats the attention of Europe to the warning words of a Slaav writer, which we quote:—

“We, Slaavs, are bound to give our brethren in the West a warning of the highest importance. The West is too oblivious of the north of Europe and Asia, the home of rapacious and destructive races. Let it not be supposed that these nations

have ceased to exist. Like clouds charged with storms, they are awaiting but the all-powerful command to advance and desolate Europe. Let it not be thought that the spirit which animated Attila, Gengis-Khan, and Tamerlane, those scourges of mankind, is extinct. Those countries, those nations, and the spirit which prevails in them, warn Christian civilization not to be lulled into security; they warn them that the time has not yet arrived for turning their swords into ploughshares, and barracks into houses dedicated to benevolent purposes." He then tells us that "the supple and servicable Cossack has taken on himself the duties of the tame elephant which is employed in capturing and cajoling its fellows. Hundreds of the warlike hordes of the Siberian deserts are already tamed, and have learned to obey the far-reaching word of command from the Neva. In the army-list they already figure as recruits ready to join the active army. Thousands of drill-sergeants, from Moscow and the Don, are teaching them to manœuvre, and the stations of these men extend even to the confines of the empire of China. For more than ten years they have been busily employed in forming the horsemen of these wastes into squadrons. They are very picturesque corps,—these 'bristly centaurs of the waste,'—and inquisitive Europeans may sooner or later have an opportunity of seeing them. It is possible that these tamed brutes of the desert are being taught to wheel and go through other military evolutions at the word of command, in order that 200,000 of them may be made to parade before the eyes of the inhabitants of the West."

No. IV.

THE SERFS.

“Does there exist a man who would still hold the nation’s faith to be bound to those constituted powers that had borne us down under the yoke of slavery?”—*Manifesto voted by the Diet of the Kingdom of Poland, Dec. 20, 1830.*

THE serfs, who from their numbers are the most important class in Russia, owe their present slavery to accident, and to this day their bondage has been neither established or recognised by any law or ordinance. In former times the only slaves were debtors or the descendants of prisoners of war, who formed the personal suite of the nobles. The peasants were free, and cultivated the soil as yearly tenants, who could come and go at pleasure. It is true, that when Russia was divided into a number of petty states, each prince endeavoured to keep as many subjects as possible within his own territories, but there is no instance of any further interference with their freedom; and even this hinderance was brought to an end by the sword of the Tartars and the supremacy of Moscow. In the time of the Czar Boris Godounoff, it was feared that the land would cease to be cultivated, owing to the dislike of the peasants to agriculture and to their habit of wandering to the towns and banks of rivers in search of more congenial employment. A ukase was therefore issued in 1601, by which they were forbidden to remove from place to place, and were fixed forever to the spot where they had happened to be on the day of St. George last passed. This ukase, which dates from the same year as the famous Act of the 43d of Elizabeth, bears some resemblance to the Law of Settlement passed in the 13th and 14th of Charles II., which has caused so much

misery in England, and the total repeal of which is now under discussion. Haxthausen says, that St. George's day is still commemorated in the songs of the Russian peasants as fatal to their liberty, although it was not till long after that they were actually deprived of their personal freedom. At first the change was not very severely felt, for as long as agriculture continued to be their principal employment, the lord of the soil, who rarely resided on the spot, contented himself with a moderate rent, and felt an interest in the welfare of the peasants, for he knew that if they were distressed or overtaxed, his land would go out of cultivation.

It was the passion of Peter the Great for the introduction of European civilization and luxury, which moulded serfage into its present form. Induced by him, the rich proprietors built factories, which they placed under the management of foreigners, and assigned villages for the support of the workmen employed in them. These were at first their superfluous personal attendants; but their incorrigible idleness soon led to a change of system, and the lord ordered some of his villages, in lieu of rent or service, to provide hands for the factories. These men, finding that all their wants were supplied, gave up every other kind of toil, and the idea gradually became established that the lord could dispose of the labour of his serf in whatever manner he chose. But it was quickly discovered that when the peasant was deprived of the stimulus of self-interest, he lost his wonted activity and intelligence, and hence arose the custom of allowing him to choose his own employment, on the sole condition of his paying an annual sum to his owner.

The proprietor is bound to maintain his serfs, or, if they are employed in agriculture, he must provide them with land sufficient for their support. In return, he is entitled to either money or service. In the former case, he lays an obrok or rent upon the whole village. In the latter case, the peasants

either work for him three days in the week,* or they cultivate a portion of the land for his benefit, having another portion assigned to them for their own maintenance. In either case, the lord can impose what conditions he pleases upon the peasants, who divide their land and burdens attached to it, according to the customs we have described in speaking of the free communes.

The lord cannot adjudge his serf to receive more than forty blows with the rod, or fifteen with the stick; but the limitation is of little value, as there is no authority to enforce it. The serf has not the power to make a will, but since the year 1842 his right to enter into a bargain or contract is recognised by law. He can scarcely be said to own property, for all that he has belongs to his lord, and can be seized by him; but custom and public opinion forbid the exercise of this right. Individuals and whole villages sometimes purchase their freedom; and in the case of the latter, their houses and lands are included in the bargain. We learn from Haxthausen that Prince Shéremetoff, who owns 128,000 souls, some of whom possess millions, has received from 80,000 to 100,000 rubles for the enfranchisement of a single serf; but it often happens that rich men prefer the protection of a master, and many of the great proprietors take a pride in the wealth of their serfs.

* In order to render the recent levy, amounting to 3 per cent. on the adult male population, less intolerable to the peasants of Western Russia, it was accompanied by a ukase reducing the forced labour of the serf from three days in the week to two.

No. V.

THE KREMLIN.*

RUSSIA has two capitals: St. Petersburg, representing the West, progress and civilization; Moseow, symbolizing the East, conservatism and barbarism.

St. Petersburg is Russian, but not Russia. The ground on which it stands was once a foreign country. Moscow is still the heart and soul of Russian life and nationality. It is in lat. $55^{\circ} 45' 45''$ N., and lon. $55^{\circ} 12' 45''$ E., and 728 versts from St. Petersburg, to which it is now united by a railway.

The assertion sometimes made, that no city is so irregularly built as Moseow, is, in some respects, true. None of the streets are straight; houses, large and small, private dwellings, public buildings, and churches, are mingled confusedly together; but when, instead of looking at it in detail, we consider it as a whole, it must be admitted that few cities are more regularly or more rationally built than Moseow.

The original founders settled, without doubt, on the Kremlin hill, which naturally became the centre of the city at a later period. Nearest that fortified hill lay the Kitay Gorod, (Chinese city,) the oldest part of Moseow. Around both the Kremlin and Kitay Gorod lies Beloi Gorod, (White city,) which is eneiroided by the Tver Boulevard and the other boulevards, forming, together, one street. Round Beloi Gorod runs,

* From Morell's "*Russia as it Is.*"

in a like circular form, the Smelni Gorod, surrounded by the Garden street, and by other streets, which must be considered as continuations of it. These rings, forming the body of the city, properly so called, are intersected by the Tverskaya, Dimitrevka, and other streets, radiating from the open places round the Kremlin as the common centre. Nowhere is there a sufficient length of street to form a perspective. The greater number of the streets wind like the paths of an English park, or like rivers meandering through fields.

We always fancy ourselves coming to the end; and in every part where the ground is level, we appear to be in a small city. Fortunately, the site of Moseow is, in general, hilly. The streets undulate continually, and thus offer, from time to time, points of view whence the eye is able to range over the vast ocean of house-tops.

It is difficult to decide on the exact number of the churches of Moseow, the accounts given differ so widely. While some speak of 1500, others reduce the number to 500, and others even to 260. Some reckon every chapel attached to the larger churches, those in private houses, convents, and those erected over graves, which might easily swell the number to thousands. Some people reckon the summer and winter churches separately, and others together. There are even some churches in Moseow which do, in fact, consist of several joined together, of which each has its own name, and is quite apart from the rest. In this manner, the church of the Protection of the Holy Virgin might be set down as twelve. Lastly, some of the convents have one chief church, and three, four, and even five, supplementary churches, in each of which service is performed only once a year; these are passed over in some estimates, and included in others.

It is sufficient to say, that the buildings in Moscow destined for divine service are countless.

The population of Moscow is now considerably more than 300,000.

Kohl and the Marquis de Custine have exhausted Moscow, whose chief features are the Cathedral of St. Basil and the Kremlin. The church of St. Basil stands at the entrance of the fortress. *Vassili Blagennoi* is a mosaic or *pot-pourri* of every imaginable style of architecture, thrown together in the most capricious and fanciful disorder. It is certainly the most singular, if not the most beautiful, monument in Russia. The effect it produces is prodigious. "Certainly, the country which would name it a place for prayer, is not Europe, but rather India, Persia, or China; and the men who go to worship God in this box of bonbons are not Christians:" thus I exclaimed, on looking on this singular church of *Vassili*. It is also small and dismal, and Custine pronounces that all churches in this land of slavery are dungeons.

The centre of attraction at Moscow is, however, the Kremlin, the ancient fortress of its czars, the dungeon of a nation of giants. This is one of the most stupendous edifices in the world. I shall never forget, observes Custine, the freezing feeling of horror which I experienced on first beholding the cradle of the empire of modern Russia. The Kremlin deserves a journey to Moscow.

The Kremlin is not like any other palace; it is an entire city, and the head of Moscow; it serves as a frontier to two parts of the world, the east and the west. The Old and the New Worlds are in the presence of each other there.

The walls of the Kremlin! The wood walls can give you no idea: the wood is too common, too mean, it deceives you; the walls of the Kremlin—they are a chain of mountains. This citadel, built on the confines of Europe and Asia, is, compared with ordinary ramparts, what the Alps are to our hills; the Kremlin is the Mont Blanc of fortresses. If the giant,

whom we call the Russian empire, had a heart, I should say that the Kremlin was the heart of this monster; it is the head of it. I wish I could only give you an idea of that mass of stones, sketched out like steps along the sky; singular contradiction! This asylum of despotism was raised in the name of liberty, for the Kremlin was a rampart opposed by the Russians against the Calmucks; its walls at both ends have favoured the independence of the state, and served the tyranny of the sovereign. They follow boldly the sinuosities of the earth; when the slopes of the hill become too rapid, the rampart is lowered by steps; these steps, which mount between the sky and the earth, are enormous; it is the ladder of giants who make war with the gods.

The line of this first enclosure of structures is cut by fantastic towers, so lofty, so strong, and of so whimsical a form, that they represent rocks of divers figures, and glaciers of a thousand colours. The obscurity, doubtless, caused all these things to increase in size, and to give them an unnatural outline and tints; I say tints, because night has its colouring as well as *gravure*. I cannot account for the influence of the illusion which then possessed me; but it was impossible not to feel a secret terror, to see ladies and gentlemen, dressed in the Parisian costume, walking at the foot of this fabulous palace; one imagines that it is a dream. I was dreaming. What would Ivan the Third have said; he, the restorer—we might say the founder—of the Kremlin, if he could have seen, at the foot of the sacred fortress, these old shaven Muscovites, with their hair curled, in dress coats, white pantaloons, and yellow gloves, lounging at their ease to the sound of music, and eating well-sugared ices before a well-illuminated café? He would have said, as I do,—it is impossible! And yet this is to be seen at Moscow every summer's evening. I have been over the public gardens, planted upon the glaciers of the

old citadel of the Czars ; I beheld towers, then other towers, flights of walls, and then again other flights ; and my eyes wandered over an enchanted city. It is saying too little to call it Fairy-land ! It requires the eloquence of youth, whom all surprises and astonishes, in order to find words analogous to those wonderful things. Above a long vault, which I had just crossed, I perceived a suspended road, by which foot-passengers and carriages entered the holy city. This sight appeared to me incomprehensible ; there was nothing but towers, doors, terraces raised one above the other, in contrary lines ; nothing but rapid ascents and descents, and arches supporting roads by which you go out of the Moscow of to-day and the Moscow of the past, to enter the Kremlin, from the historical Moscow to the marvellous Moscow. These aqueducts without water support again other stages of edifices still more fantastic. I saw a low, round tower, all bristling with battlements and buttresses, leaning against one of those suspended passages. The brilliant whiteness of this singular ornament detaches itself from a wall as red as blood ; what a contrast ! and which the obscurity, always somewhat transparent in the nights of the north, never prevents you from observing. This tower was a giant, whose head seemed to command the whole fort, of which it seemed to be the guardian. When I was satisfied with the enjoyment of this waking dream, I endeavoured to find my way home.

Wishing to compare the Kremlin in full daylight with the fantastic Kremlin of the night, I recommenced my walk of yesterday. Obscurity increases and displaces all things ; but the sun restores objects to their forms and proportions. I was again surprised at this second testing of the fortress of the Czars. The moonlight enlarged and brought out certain masses of stone, but it had concealed others from me ; and thus, by rectifying some of my mistakes, and acknowledging

that I had imagined too many arches, covered galleries, and suspended roads, of porticoes and caverns, I still found a sufficient number of all these things to justify my enthusiasm.

There is every thing to be found at the Kremlin: it is a landscape of stones.

The solidity of those ramparts surpasses the strength of the rocks which bear them; the number and the form of these monuments is a marvel. This labyrinth of palaces, of museums, of donjons, of churches, of prisons, is fearful as the architecture of Martin, and as vast but more irregular than the compositions of the English painter. Mysterious sounds proceed from the depths of the caverns; such dwellings cannot be fit for beings like us. You dream there in the midst of the most astonishing scenes; and you tremble when you remember that these are not merely pure invention. The sounds you hear there seem to proceed from the tomb; in such a spot you can believe in every thing, except that which is natural.

Convince yourself thoroughly that the Kremlin of Moscow is not what it is reported to be. It is not a palace; it is not a national sanctuary where the historical treasures of the empire are preserved; it is not the Boulevard of Russia, the revered asylum where the saints sleep, who are the protectors of the country; it is less, and it is more, than all this: it is simply the Citadel of Spectres.

This morning, walking along, and without a guide, as usual, I arrived at the very centre of the Kremlin, and I penetrated alone into the interior of some of those churches, which are the ornaments of this pious city, venerated by the Russians, as much for their relics as for their worldly riches and the glorious trophies they enclose. The Kremlin, situated on a hill, appeared to me from a distance like a

princeely city, built in the midst of an ordinary one. This tyrannical chateau—this proud heap of stones—towers above the common dwellings of men, with its high rocks, its walls, and its belfries, and, contrary to that which happens with regard to monuments of ordinary dimensions, the nearer we approach to this indestructible mass, the more we are astonished. Like certain bones of gigantic animals, the Kremlin proves to us the history of a world of which we still have doubts, even when we discover its remains. In this prodigious creation, strength takes the place of beauty, caprice of elegance. It is a tyrant's dream, but it is powerful; it is terrifying, like the thought of a man who commands the thoughts of a people; there is something out of proportion in it.

I see means of defence, but which suppose wars such as are no more carried on; this architecture is not in harmony with the wants of modern civilization.

The heritage of fabulous times, when kings reigned without control; jail, palace, sanctuary, a bulwark against the stranger, a bastille against the nation, the support of tyrants, dungeons for the people,—behold, this is the Kremlin!

A kind of Aropolis of the north, or a barbarous Pantheon, this national sanctuary might be called the Alcazar of the Slavonians. Such, then, was the beloved residence of the old Muscovite princes; and, nevertheless, these formidable walls did not suffice to calm down yet the terror of Ivan the Fourth.

The fear felt toward an all-powerful man is one of the most terrible things in the world. Thus, you tremble on approaching the Kremlin. Towers of all forms; round, square, pointed like arrows, belfries, donjons, turrets, vedettes, the watch-towers on the minarets, steeples of every height, of

different colours, style, and destination; courts, look-outs, embattled walls, loopholes, machicolations, ramparts, fortifications of all sorts, whimsical fancies, incomprehensible inventions, a kiosk by the side of a cathedral,—all announce disorder and violence,—all betray the constant watchfulness necessary for the safety of those singular beings, who are condemned to live in this supernatural world.

The Kremlin, the first erection of which began in 1367, is certainly a most singular object. It contains the remains of the ancient palace, and also a modern one, rebuilt in 1816; it has, besides, four cathedrals, in one of which (the Assumption) there are two hundred and forty-nine full-length images of angels, saints, sovereigns, &c. The Cathedral of St. Michael contains the tombs of all the Russian sovereigns to the time of Peter the Great. There are, including the cathedrals, thirty-two churches in the Kremlin. It is surrounded with walls from twelve to sixteen feet thick, of heights varying from thirty to fifty feet.

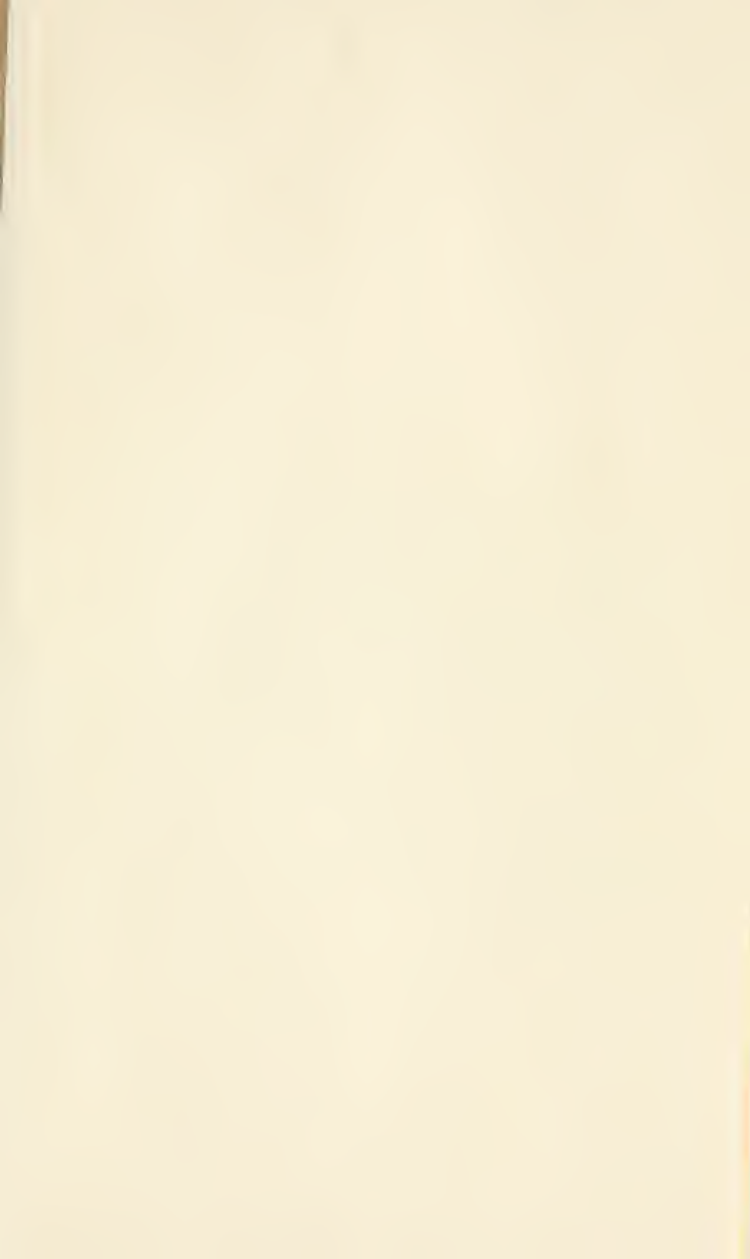
Deserving of notice in Moscow is Count Sheremetof's Hospital, an extensive and noble edifice. It has the appearance of a fine Grecian temple. The noble founder dedicated a sum equal to £150,000 to its foundation, to which his son made large additions. The objects, besides relief of the sick, are portioning twenty-five female orphans, and allowing pensions to aged and indigent females. There is also a military hospital, founded by Peter the Great, now capable of receiving fifteen hundred patients.

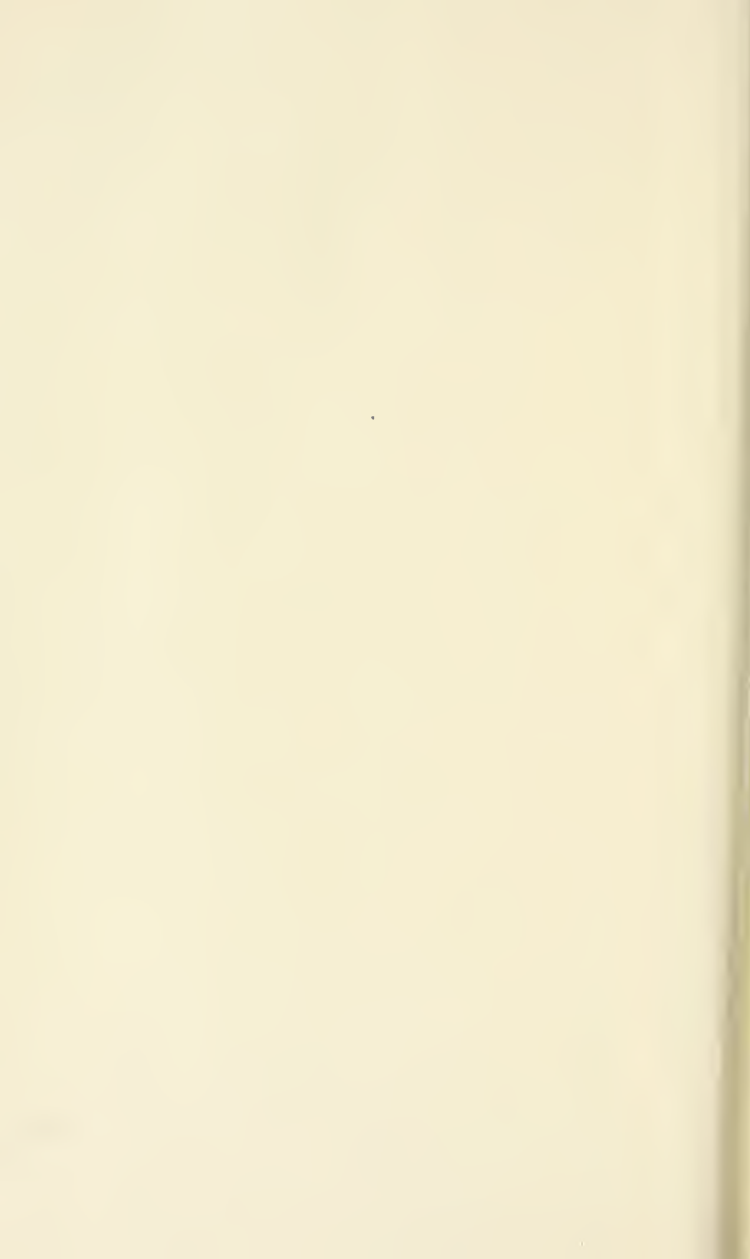
Colonel Cameron, who looked through rose-coloured spectacles on all he saw in Russia, was enchanted with Moscow. Churches, palaces, mosques, pagodas, and pavilions, with their gorgeous and glittering domes and golden spires, mixed with gardens, majestic trees, shrubberies, and buildings of every description of architecture,—the elegant Grecian, the

massive Gothic, the fantastic Chinese, and the graceful Saracenic, in the midst of which wound the noble waters of the Moskwa,—all formed a tableau which the imagination, perhaps, may readily conceive, but which it would be difficult for the ablest writer effectually to describe. Such is the view from the tower of Ivan Veliki, or John the Great.

THE END.

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Schmucker, Samuel Mosheim
The life and reign of
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